

THE
LIBRARY CHRONICLE
*of the Friends of the
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
LIBRARY*

VOLUME XVII

1950-1951

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THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE

BICENTENNIAL ISSUE

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
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1750

1950

“The glory of the world would be lost
in oblivion if God had not provided
mortals with a remedy in books.”

Richard de Bury

THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE
BICENTENNIAL ISSUE

*Published in Memory of the Founding
of the*

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARY

1750

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Articles and notes of bibliographical or bibliophile interest are invited. Contributions should be submitted to The Editor, *The Library Chronicle*, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

Preface

THE publication of a special issue of *The Library Chronicle* to punctuate the history of the University of Pennsylvania Library at the close of two hundred years surely requires no justification. The number of university libraries in this country with a record of such duration is not great, and a certain pride in our achievements will, we trust, not be deemed unpardonable. Yet no one could be more conscious than the present Director that however gratifying our achievements may be, they fall far short of what might have been, indeed ought to have been, accomplished.

We are still confronted with many unsolved problems—of which those of an inadequate physical plant and of inadequate financial resources to build collections and render adequate service seem at the moment to be the most pressing. Therefore we choose to look to the future with firm determination rather than to view the past with satisfaction. Of all parts of the University the Library is, we are convinced, the most essential; without it the University itself cannot exist. Therefore, in spite of current difficulties, we look forward to the next half century with confidence. Two centuries of growth have provided us a strong foundation on which to build. With the wisdom and courage which must be brought to bear upon so great and necessary an instrument of education and research, the solution of our most pressing problems will surely be found, and we shall inevitably move forward to the bright future which undoubtedly lies before us.

CHARLES W. DAVID
Director of Libraries

Thoughts on the Occasion of the University of Pennsylvania Library Bicentennial

EDWIN WOLF, 2ND

President of the Friends of the Library

THE first president of the Friends of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, A. Edward Newton, sitting comfortably in his library at Oak Knoll, once told me with a comprehensive wave of his hand that he had never bought a book he did not *intend* to read. "But," he added half apologetically, "I've never caught up, 'cos I keep on buying them." In a way that sums up the advantages of a university library. Serving a large student body, an active faculty, and in a measure a whole geographical area, the University Library may be sure that every book bought will be read, and particularly today no book is bought that is not designed for specific, if ultimate, use.

Of course, not every book published can be bought; accumulation without discretion merely fills shelves and does not necessarily fill academic needs. But, as an antiquarian bookman myself, I cannot help but point out how many ugly ducklings of the past are now the gleaming, white swans of the present. To take but one instance of this transformation, I cite the whole field of Western Americana, now the darling of the historian, librarian and collector. Almost overnight the romance of the western expansion across the continent has become recognized, and the raw material of that dramatic story has been brought back from the limbo of forgotten books. Scrubby, poorly printed little volumes of the 1830's to 1850's, thrown away and maltreated to such an extent that they are now really rare, give the accounts of the pioneers who crossed the plains and the Rockies, and settled an empire. On the shelves of the University Library are some of these books—not many, it must be admitted—but some bought at the time of publication. In almost any field an old library can find similar treasures. That is the good fortune of a past; and perhaps it is promise for the future.

New libraries are at a great disadvantage, for not only must they keep abreast of current publications, but they must keep filling in the great gap caused by their having no past. The University of Pennsylvania Library with two hundred years of growth behind it is more fortunate. Not a year has gone by in that span of time when books have not been added to its shelves, sometimes in adequate numbers, sometimes, when the pinch of low funds was felt, too few. At any rate, acquisitions continued to accumulate, and today the Library is one of the leading university libraries in the country.

Yet every library, even an old one, is faced with the problem of filling in, and even developing new fields in which little interest had previously been shown, but which now loom important in the academic world. It is here that the Friends of a library can make their greatest contribution, for it may be expected that the administration will see to it that current needs are met. These gaps are frequently, but not always, old books of great research value; sometimes they are collections in a specialized field now being worked on by an enterprising faculty member. The books needed are tools for research, the *sine qua non* of a whole academic project. Where such acquisitions cannot be made out of regular funds the librarian must turn to outside sources, and these sources should be the Friends.

Specialized collections are like living organisms; they cannot be allowed to die for lack of nourishment. They must be added to in order to maintain their vigor. At the University Library there are many such collections. Some of them, such as the Curtis Collection of Franklin Imprints, consist entirely of old and rare books; others like that of the Edgar Fahs Smith Collection are a combination of the old and new in the field of the history of chemistry; and still others like those of the Lippincott Library of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce are practically all new. Every week requests flow into the offices of the Library for the purchase of this volume or that, and unfortunately dollars are not unlimited, so all the requests cannot be granted. It would be an unimaginative faculty which could not keep well ahead of the possibility of purchase. But every acquisition is a potential first step to new knowledge.

In the pages of *The Library Chronicle* can be read a distillate of the books in the University Library. The books were there; a brain took from them an essence; and something new is given to the inquiring world in the form of an article. That is the story of education, which without the Library and its resources could not be. Perhaps the Friends never quite realize the connection between the books and the University. It may be that *The Chronicle* will help.

Important acquisitions, such as the Dreiser Collection,¹ have been made in recent years; more are planned. However, the Friends can help by remembering that any books may fill an immediate need, and that books or the means of getting them are always welcome. William Blake once said that you never know what is enough until you know what is more than enough. The University of Pennsylvania Library would like to approach that happy state.

¹ See article "The Library's Dreiser Collection," on p. 78 of this issue.

The Early Years of the University Library

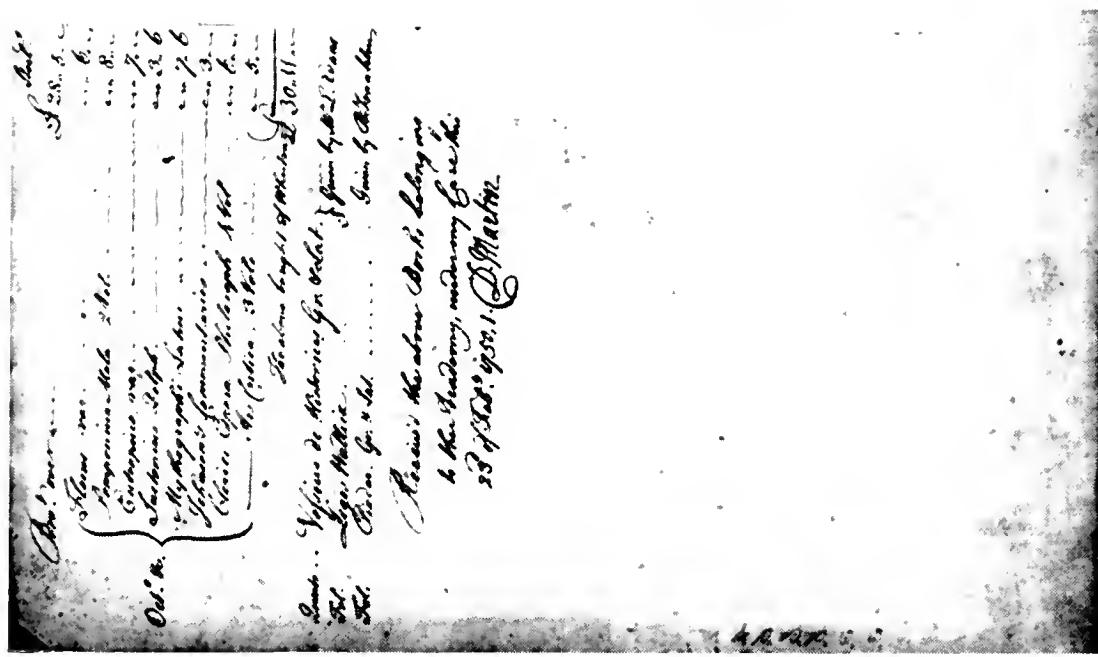
SARAH DOWLIN JONES*

“NOT far from a River, having a Garden, Orchard, Meadow, and a Field or two”—thus wrote Franklin as he envisaged the location of an academy for the youth of Pennsylvania. If the house for the academy were to be in the country, it should be furnished with a library, but, added the eminently practical man, “if in the Town, the Town libraries may serve.”¹

Even in a colonial metropolis the ideal of Penn’s green country town had been left behind, and the dream of instruction in idyllic, not to say bucolic, surroundings was never realized. The first Academy building was at Fourth and Arch Streets, the open land reduced to the adjoining quarter acre of ground in which the boys might play. And whereas one points to the formalized modern counterpart of Franklin’s fields and meadow and smiles wryly at the thought of the riverside location, one finds that the Library, introduced and discarded almost casually in the proposals, was established early and with varying fortunes lived to prosper.

The Academy was opened for classes on January 7, 1751, when the trustees, led by the Governor of the Province, walked in procession from the Governor’s house to the “New Building,” built for the Rev. George Whitefield’s congregation and charity school, and taken over by the trustees for the new Academy. There they heard the commemoration sermon by the Rev. Richard Peters, one of their number. Some books were already in the possession of the trustees. The gifts of Lewis Evans, the first “friend of the library,” are inscribed to the “Philad^a. Academy, 1749/50,” which means that they must have been given between January 1 and March 25, 1750. In a meeting on March 29, the trustees voted that one hundred pounds sterling be paid to a committee for the purchase of “Latin and Greek Authors, Maps, Drafts and Instruments for the Use of the Academy.”² Shortly thereafter the trustees had passed the earliest

* Acknowledgment is due Mr. Arthur T. Hamlin, who turned over to the author the results of his preliminary investigations on the subject.



1

circulation rule; in the minutes of a meeting dated December 17, 1750, we find “ordered, that no Instruments, Books or other things belonging to the Academy shall be delivered to the Rector, Masters, Tutors or any person in the Service of the Academy, until they have signed Receipts in the Minute Book for the same.”

David Martin, the first Rector, duly accepted his obligation; on February 23, 1751, he signed the list (Fig. 1) of seventy-nine volumes (forty-nine titles) belonging to the Academy and thus acknowledged that he had received them into his care. The Rector was the professor highest in rank, head of the Latin School, and became by the new charter of 1755 Vice-Provost of the College and Rector of the Academy. It was his duty “without the Assistance of any Tutor, to teach twenty Scholars the Latin and Greek Languages, and at the same Time, according to the best of his Capacity, to instruct them in History, Geography, Chronology, Logick, Rhetorick, and the English Tongue; and Twenty-five Scholars more for every Usher provided for him, who shall be entirely subject to his Direction.” In actual practice, the Rector began with Latin, and added Greek between 1753 and 1755; William Smith, who became Provost in 1755, had been employed earlier, before the revision of the charter, as an additional master to teach “Logick, Rhetorick, Ethick and Natural Philosophy.”

The Academy Library, at least that large proportion of it which had been delivered to the Rector, must then have been but a few shelves of books in the room occupied by the Latin School. Perhaps the first book selection committee had the help of Peter Collinson, the agent on whom the draft was drawn, or of John Whiston, its London bookseller, whose first bill came to £39/11/0. What books had they chosen? Forty-six titles bought from Whiston and three gifts, all in Greek or Latin, were in the lot turned over to Martin. It must have been a “working”—and a hard-worked—library; some of the books have given two hundred years of service. For example, until rescued recently,³ M. Valerii Martialis *Epigrammata*, printed in Leyden in 1661, stood on the shelves of the Latin Seminar in the present Library; it was bought from Whiston for six shillings. Among the first books received

were two volumes of Tacitus, and Livy's history in ten volumes, the *New Testament* in Greek and the *Septuagint*, two volumes each of Virgil and of Homer, Theophrastus, Longinus, and Boethius, Horace and Ovid and Terence. Some titles of the first collection disappeared or were worn out before the 1829 *Catalogue of Books Belonging to the University of Pennsylvania Library* was compiled. Others have vanished since. But in the Founder's Collection in the Rare Book Room many still stand, such as the Anacreon with the Greek and Latin on facing pages and with the engraved portrait of Joshua Barnes, the editor, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, the same scholar's Homer, and the four volumes of Cicero. Two books were given to Martin's library by William L. Evans, and a volume of Pindar, in Greek and Latin, was given by Benjamin Franklin.

The English School, which Franklin and the Proprietors had hoped to make the most important in the Academy, was kept in second place by the more conservative and classical-minded trustees, in spite of its early flowering under David James Dove. It came off a poor second in the distribution of books. A very small shelf indeed would have held the collection in Dove's care: a second copy of Ainsworth's *Dictionary* in English and Latin (the first copy of course had gone to the Latin School), two more dictionaries—Bailey's and Dyche's,⁴ Abraham Cowley's *Works* and Milton's *Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained*, both gifts of Lewis Evans, Milton's prose works, a gift of Dr. Milne, and "Rollin's Belles Lettres"⁵ in four volumes given "by B. Franklin." Perhaps Dove supplemented his teaching and the books in the College collection from his own library; in 1769, when his library was sold, it was so large that a special auction was required.⁶ Lewis Evans, whose benevolence toward the Drawing School is shown by his gifts, had considerable interest in geography and cartography. His map of Pennsylvania had been sent to the proprietors and to Edward Shippen, Jr., in London.⁷ However, in 1753 he did not consider the Academy, or indeed any of the cultural institutions of Philadelphia, sufficiently important to be included in his elaborate *A Brief Account of Pennsylvania in a Letter to Richard Peters, Esq., In answer to some Queries of a Gentleman in Europe.*⁸

Books Belong to the English Master
of Bible, Greek
Ainsworth's Dictionary, Long dozen 16.
Bailey's Dictionary, 2nd Ed.
Dyer's Dictionary.

3

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Johnson, Sons and Daughters
Belonging to the Johnsons, we are here
now. Yours truly, John G. Johnson

In spite of the meager supply of books provided him (Fig. 2), David Dove was a notable teacher. After his dismissal for failure to give full time to his classes at the Academy—he was simultaneously conducting a private boarding school at his house in Sassafras Street—the English School declined in enrollment and importance. The situation is clearly reflected in the 1829 *Catalogue* with its seventeen pages of “Ancient Authors” which are to be compared with less than one and a quarter pages devoted to works of “Modern Literature.” Cowley and Milton are reinforced by only two other titles in English: *The Spectator* in eight volumes and Williston’s *Eloquence of the United States* in five volumes. This, in spite of the fact that at a meeting of the trustees on February 11, 1752, Franklin and Richard Peters were “desired to make out a Catalogue of such Books as are most necessary for the English School, and send it to Mr. Peter Collinson, with a Letter requesting him to purchase the said Books and ship them by the first Opportunity.” The *Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Philomathean Society* (1840), in contrast to the 1829 *Catalogue* of the Library, lists authors who are still widely read by students today, for example, Dickens, Scott, and Irving. It included, amusingly enough, among the twenty-four titles of classics, eleven especially designated “translation of. . . .” The Philomathean Society had been founded in 1813; it benefited from its quasi-official position in obtaining grants from the trustees for the purchase of books for its library, which, therefore, must have supplemented the University Library’s collection.

The Mathematics Master, Theophilus Grew, like Dove, was but poorly supplied with books (Fig. 3). The list in the Minutes indicates the books and instruments purchased for him or given to him: *Memoires d’Artilleries* by St. Remy in two volumes and *Theatre of the Present War in the Netherlands* (given by Lewis Evans for the Drawing School), *Principles of Drawing*, *Universal Penman*, seven prints of the seven works of charity, a sixteen-inch reflecting telescope and a camera obscura (also gifts of Mr. Evans), a pair of eighteen-inch globes from Franklin and six large maps. The Mathematical School was sometimes joined with the English School, sometimes with the Writing School. Apparently from the first, Theophilus Grew, who shared the scientific interests of many

Philadelphians and who was an experienced teacher, was expected to use the equipment for writing and drawing as well as that for mathematics.

The members of the first committee for the selection of books were, besides Franklin, William Allen, merchant, mayor, recorder of the city, and chief justice of the Supreme Court of the Province; William Coleman, variously merchant, common councilman, treasurer of the Library Company, and a member of the Junto; Richard Peters, second president of the trustees of the Academy, secretary of the Province and clerk of the Council, and sometime assistant to the rector of Christ Church; Thomas Hopkinson, former student at Oxford, lawyer, first president of the Junto, provincial councilman, and holder of many other offices in the colony; and Tench Francis, attorney general of Pennsylvania.

Peter Collinson of London, the first of the Library's foreign agents, had long been known to those of the trustees who were also members of the Library Company. When Thomas Hopkinson left for England in 1732, he carried the first book order of the new Library Company⁹ and a bill of exchange drawn on Peter Collinson, mercer, of Gracious Street, London, whose articles on botany had appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and who was a friend of John Bartram. Collinson not only honored the bill and purchased the books, but added to the first shipment two gifts of his own, "Sr. Isaac Newton's Philosophy and Philip Miller's Gardening Dictionary," with his good will and wish for success. For more than twenty-five years Collinson served the Library Company as agent in London and it is natural that the trustees of the Academy should have sent their first book orders to him. His name continues to appear in the *Day Book* of the Academy till at least 1759, when Franklin himself was in London acting as its agent.

It was Collinson who filled Franklin's order of books in 1755 (Fig 4), the second purchase for the Library of which we have a precise record: "Cook's Poems" for five shillings (not surviving in the 1829 *Catalogue*); *The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the year of Christ, 1753 . . . by the Rev. John Blair* (1754) at forty-nine shillings; the two volumes of the first edition

List of Books & Instruments for the Use of the Schools Pd. to Peter Collinson	
of London for the following Books & Instruments told at London 1753	
May 1. Small Thesaurus 4d. & 10d. 46	£ 2. 11. 6
Large Thesaurus 10d. to Eng. Tongue	2 -
Large Thesaurus 10d. to Eng. Tongue	1 10 -
Large Thesaurus 10d. to Eng. Tongue	5 -
Large Thesaurus 10d. to Eng. Tongue	15. 6
Small Thesaurus & all Charges 5d. 6	18. 4. 6
Large Thesaurus 10d. 6	6 -
Exchange on the 1. Pd. and from last Pd. 6d.	14. 4. 6

FIG. 4

List of Books & Instruments for the Use of the Schools Pd. to	
Peter Collinson for a parcel of Books, ordered by the Turkey	
and first ship of the Colonial Capt. Davis, which was lost	
at sea, and Insurance recovered by P. C. amounting to £1400. - 6s.	
And the other parcel being shipped and sent to the ship	
on or about 16 Aug. 1753 arrived safe; but the books being	
either lost or mislaid by P. Franklin to whom they were sent	
the cost of them can now only be guessed at, but is supposed	
to be about the same value with the first parcel £140. 16. 6s.	
Exchange - 73% p cent -	- 10. 17. 6s. £ 25. 13. 6s.

whereas Peter Collinson of London his late late Dr. P. C. is now dead, for
spa

FIG. 5

of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* at four pounds ten; and Martin's "Introduction to the English Tongue"¹⁰ at two shillings. Could these have been the books Franklin and Peters had been authorized to purchase for the English School three years before? A delay of as many weeks may cause impatient outcries from faculty and students two hundred years later.

The accounts of what may have been other Library purchases are not distinguished from the records of "books" (perhaps account books or texts?), "Instruments &c. for the Use of the Schools," quills, ink, and paper. There is a typical entry in the *Day Book* dated May 10, 1756, a reimbursement to Hugh Williamson (at that time a tutor in the Latin School, later the mathematics professor) for the three shillings he had advanced for copperplate copies for the use of the schools, a reminder that in the early days of the University all the students were given instruction in handwriting.

The records of purchases continue in day books (Fig. 5) and minutes. What may have been Library matters were undifferentiated, and were, for the accounts, treated like any other supplies or running expenses; among the entries concerning cleaning chimneys, sawing wood, renewing bell ropes, supplying brushes and paying sheriff's fees there suddenly appears on December 27, 1784, £4/6/4 for carriage of books from France, probably the freight charges on a gift of Louis XVI. But a foreshadowing of departmentalization appears in the entry of September 28, 1765, in the *Day Book*: "Acct. of the Cost of the Gro^d & Buildings pd. for Bookshelves & Repairs to the Belfrey 8/11/3." In May of 1754, William Coleman, the treasurer, was ordered to pay Frances Holwell, the instructor of girls in the Charity School, "Three Pounds to be laid out in Books, Canvas, Cruels and other Things necessary in the Instruction of the Poor Children under her Care." In 1758 the complaint was laid before the trustees that the students of the Philosophy School were held back in their work because the Library needed "suitable Books on the different Branches of Science, the Clerk was therefore directed to acquaint the Trustees by the next written notices that a Proposal was under Consideration for granting a Sum of Money to be laid out in purchasing an Assortment of approved Authors for the Use of the

College, a List of which was laid before the Trustees at this Meeting."

When Dr. William Smith, the Provost, visited England in 1762-64 on a fund-raising campaign, he bought books for the College, his account including £79/18/0 for books "with packing, Cording, &c." Ten years later Mr. James Davidson was instructed to procure the "Terrestrial Globe and a Set of Classical Maps for the Latin School" which he had requested, and to call on the treasurer for money to pay for them. Unfortunately, we do not know what books Dr. Smith purchased, and the globe and maps disappeared long ago. Moreover, records of funds specifically allocated for books are very few, and practically no titles are mentioned.

The finances of the Academy were a constant source of worry to the trustees, and various expedients were used to obtain money for books, as well as for other necessities. In the Minutes under date of April 21, 1752, one finds:

"Agreed by the Trustees present to pay a Fine of One shilling, if absent at any Meeting, unless such Excuse be given as the Majority shall judge reasonable. The Money to be applied towards buying Books Paper &c. for the Scholars in the Charity School. . . . Agreed unanimously that no Holliday be granted to the Scholars at the Request of any Person, unless at the same Time he make a present to the Academy of a Book of Ten Shillings value: The Masters to be made acquainted with this Rule."

Either the fine for absences was protested or ignored or the attendance did not improve, for on May 25, 1754, the same rule was reaffirmed, and was made more severe a year later, on July 11, 1755:

"That the several Meetings of the Trustees may be the better attended, It is agreed, That every Trustee who shall not be at the Place of Meeting within one Hour after the Time mentioned in his written Notice; shall forfeit and pay one Shilling; and if not there till after the Meeting be over two Shillings:—The said Forfeiture to be laid out in Books, Paper, Quills, Ink, &c. for the Use of the Charity School."

At a special meeting of the trustees on December 23, 1757, fees which graduates should pay upon receiving degrees were set: bachelors should pay the College Library fifteen shillings, mas-

ters, one pound. After the founding of the Medical School, the rule was amended thus on May 17, 1768:

“Every student, on taking the Degree of Bachelor of Physic shall pay . . . the usual Fees for the seal to his Diploma and for the increase of the Library. . . . Each Medical Student, who shall pay one Dollar for the Use of the Library (exclusive of the Fee at Commencements) shall have his Name entered and have the free use of any Books belonging to the Medical Library of the College during his Continuance at the same, and attendance of Lectures under the Medical Professors.”

Besides levies, the trustees hoped for gifts. *The Constitutions of the Publick Academy in the City of Philadelphia*, signed by the original trustees, had recognized the responsibility of providing “Books of general Use, that may be too expensive for each Scholar.” The same document stated that donations from all persons who wished to encourage the Academy—and with it one assumes the Library—would be “cheerfully and thankfully received.”

Some of the early gifts to the Library have already been mentioned. One of the earliest came in 1750 from a Mr. Jackson of the Middle Temple who presented four books including Thucydides in Greek and Latin, and Ambrosius Calepinius’ *Dictionarium*. Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietors, made a present of the 1758 edition of *Paradise Lost* to Provost Smith, probably during his fund-raising journey; John Penn’s gift to the Library Company in 1738 had been an air pump. At an unspecified date the Library received the two volumes of *The Works of the long-mournful and sorely-distressed Isaac Penington, whom the Lord, in his tender mercy, at length visited and relieved by the ministry of that despised People called Quakers*. These volumes, printed in London in 1761, may still be found in the Rare Book Collection, suitably inscribed: “The Gift of the People called Quakers in London To the College Library in Philadelphia” (Fig. 6).

Provost Smith’s collection of funds in England was so successful that a decade later Dr. John Morgan, the founder of the Medical School, was sent on a similar mission to the West Indies, then the richest part of the British Empire. Although the trustees then as later preferred to have gifts with no strings attached, they agreed that the £70 given in 1772 by “one good Friend Mr. Ellis, and some Medical Gentlemen” of the Parish of St. James’s in Jamaica

should be used, as the givers desired, for a medical library. This looks like a direct response to one part of Morgan's solicitation. His pamphlet, dated Kingston, April 22, 1772, was entitled: *To the Inhabitants of Jamaica and British West Indies, Friends of Liberty and Science, and well Wishers to the Interest and Advancement of useful Literature. The humble Address and Representation of John Morgan, M.D.F.R.S. Professor of the Theory and Practise of Physic in the College of Philadelphia, In Behalf of that Seminary.*¹¹ After pointing out at some length the necessity of education to the maintenance of an enlightened and responsible citizenry, and the practical advan-

The GIFT
of the PEOPLE called QUAKERS
in LONDON
To the COLLEGE LIBRARY
in PHILADELPHIA.

FIG. 6

tage and economy in having a university on the American side of the Atlantic, where students might go without the expense of an ocean voyage and European maintenance, he came to the point of his appeal:

“In regard to the Opportunities of Improvements in Medicine at the College of Philadelphia, I shall be more particular in the sequel. Suffice it at present to observe, that, for the better carrying on of this useful undertaking, as well as for the Accommodation of Students in the other Branches of Literature, many Conveniences are yet wanting, such as the addition to the Buildings, an Enlargement of the *College Library*, and more especially a *medical Library* for the Use of Students that attend

the Lectures in Physic. These and other particulars that are essentially requisite for the due Encouragement of an infant College, have determined the Trustees to exert one more general and vigorous effort, to place the whole of this extensive Undertaking upon a substantial and durable Foundation, being sensible '*that in vain would the Disposition to cultivate Science operate, were it deprived of such necessary Aids*'."

Morgan's enthusiasm and the worthiness of the cause brought a response from the gentlemen of Jamaica, but one may detect a certain naïveté in the statement that the trustees were determined to exert "one more general and vigorous effort, to place the whole of this extensive Undertaking on a substantial and durable Foundation"; there is certainly the implication that only one more effort would be needed; there is no evidence of an understanding that such an educational enterprise must constantly appeal for funds, and can never pay for improvements or even running expenses out of current fees. Indeed, Provost Smith himself had shown but little more understanding of the continuing need for supplemental sources of income when he wrote from London to the Rev. Richard Peters: "For the College, let him [Dr. Alison] not fear about it. I know of ways & means to increase its Funds near to an Independency which in a year or two may be accomplished. I have £1000 promised in England, & the Prop. will directly give some valuable lands." The lands were given, and Dr. Cheyney has recounted the worries and annoyances they brought to the trustees, apparently far out of proportion to their usefulness as a source of income.

The years of the Revolution brought another notable addition to the Library.¹² The gift of thirty-six titles in one hundred volumes from Louis XVI marks royal recognition of the hospitality of the University extended to the Chevalier de Chastellux, upon whom the honorary LL.D. had been conferred in 1782. Chiefly works on mathematics and natural history, they stand in the Rare Book Collection, as the preface to the 1829 *Catalogue* says fulsomely, "a memorial of the liberality of the great and unfortunate monarch."

The books from the royal press may have been chosen to suit the general scientific interest then strong in Philadelphia, but the first test of a school's library is how well it supplements the curric-

ulum. Provost Smith's famous *Plan of Education*, or "View of the Philosophical Schools," first published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 12, 1756, is described by Dr. Cheyney as the "earliest systematic arrangement, in America, of a group of college studies not following medieval tradition and not having a specifically religious object."¹³ It outlined a course of three years of three terms each. The students were expected to have successfully completed the course of study in the Latin and Greek Schools of the Academy, and after public examination were permitted to enter their first term as freshmen in the College. Here their mornings were devoted to mathematics, their afternoons to classical literature. In their second year they continued to study mathematics in their morning lectures, progressing to surveying, navigation, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy. The morning lectures of the third year continued moral and natural philosophy and included some law and history; the afternoons, as always, were devoted to the Greek and Latin classics.

However rigidly the scheme may or may not have been followed, we know that approximately half the books indicated as texts were in the possession of the Library within a year of its founding and four years before the publication of the plan, and nearly all appear in the 1829 *Catalogue* in editions early enough to have been added by 1756. On the other hand, the Library owned comparatively few titles in the list of books for leisure-time reading—"Books recommended for improvement of the Youth in the various Branches" (Fig. 7). Smith's recommendations for a private library, from which such reading might be drawn, closely parallel the subjects of the lectures, but heading the list are somewhat lighter items: "Spectators, Ramblers, and monthly Magazines, for the Improvement of Style and Knowledge of Life." It reminds one that the Library Company was close by; and the Library Company's first order to Peter Collinson had included *The Spectator*, *The Guardian*, and *The Tatler*, as well as other books suggested by Provost Smith's plan, such as Boerhaave's *New Method of Chemistry*.

Philadelphia was far from being a city without books. Even before Franklin set up his shop, books were advertised for sale by

Samuel Keimer and Andrew Bradford, his rival printers and booksellers. Although a large proportion of the books offered for sale was religious or didactic in nature, even as early as 1731 one could buy in a Philadelphia bookshop Browne's *Religio Medici*, the works of Lucan and Virgil, "Erasmus of the Copiousness of Words," or a Greek dictionary.¹⁴ Furthermore, the Library Company flourished from its founding, and the "Library trunk" made regular trips across the Atlantic. After 1757, as Austin Gray has pointed out, the emphasis in book purchases by the Company shifted somewhat from instruction to entertainment, with such additions as Pope's *Essay on Man* and Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* and *The Deserted Village*.

More solid fare could be found in the Loganian Library. This was the library founded on the private collection of James Logan, the friend and secretary of William Penn and for many years the leading public figure in the colony. Logan's collection of two thousand volumes in both the classical and modern languages was extraordinary. Any properly introduced citizen of Philadelphia was admitted to his library even during his lifetime, and was occasionally allowed to borrow a book. Since he wanted his books to be used by the people of Philadelphia, he built a small building at Sixth and Walnut Streets to house his library. It was opened to the public from 1760 to 1776, and again after 1792, when the Library Company became the

PRIVATE HOURS. MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES.
<i>For improving the various Branches.</i>
<i>Spectators. Ramblers and monthly Magazines, for the Improvement of Style, and Knowledge of Life.</i>
<i>Barrow's Lectures. Pardie's Geometry. Maclaurin's Algebra. Ward's Mathematics. Keil's Trigonometry.</i>
<i>Watts's Logic, and Supplement, Locke on Human Understanding. Hutcheson's Metaphysics. Varenjus's Geography.</i>
<i>Watts's Ontology and Essays. King de Origine Malii, with Law's Notes.</i>
<i>Vossius. Boffi. Pere Bohours. Dryden's Essays and Prefaces. Spence on Pope's Odyssey. Trapp's Prælect. Poet. Dionysius Halicarn. Demetrius Phalereas. Stradæ Prolusiones.</i>
<i>Patoun's Navigation. Gregory's Geometry. Bisset on Fortification. Simpson's Conic Sections. Maclaurin's and Emerson's Fluxions. Palladio by Ware. Helharn's Lectures. Gravesande. Cote's Hydrostatics. Desaguliers. Muschenbroek. Keil's Introduction. Martin's Philosophy. Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy. Maclaurin's View of Ditto. Rohault per Clarke.</i>
<i>Puffendorf by Barbeyrac. Cumberland de Leg. Selden de Jure. Spirit of Laws. Sidney. Harrington. Seneca. Hutcheson's Works. Locke on Government. Hooker's Polity.---Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum. Compends in Preceptor. Le Clerc's Compend of History.---Gregory's Astronomy.---Fortescue on Laws. N. Bacon's Discourses. My Lord Bacon's Works. Locke on Coin, Davenant. Gee's Compend. Ray. Derham. Spectacle de la Nature. Kondoletius. Religious Philosopher.---HOLY BIBLE, to be read daily from the Beginning, and now to supply the Deficiencies of the Whole.</i>

FIG. 7

trustee. Logan's hobbies were mathematics, astronomy, botany, and gardening, and his collection in these fields included an almost complete set of the works of Newton, first editions of Linnaeus, and books by Halley, to name only three of the authors of natural philosophy which interested this many-sided man.

Logan had given Franklin permission to mention his library in the *Proposals* as an encouragement to the foundation of an academy. Franklin wrote: "Besides the English Library [the Library Company] begun and carried on by subscription in Philadelphia, we may expect the Benefit of another much more valuable in the Learned Languages, which has been many Years collecting with the greatest Care, by a Gentleman distinguish'd for his universal knowledge, no less than for his Judgment in Books." Logan's library was perhaps the most notable of the private libraries, but there were other men in Philadelphia whose libraries were well known: Thomas Cadwalader; Robert Strettel; Richard Peters' brother William, who housed his library in a separate building at Belmont; Dr. John Morgan, who solicited funds for the Academy in the West Indies; Francis Hopkinson, well known in the University's history; and Francis Alison, Rector and later Vice Provost of the University.

Although the Library Company was by far the most important of the subscription libraries, others were established in the city at various times in the eighteenth century. The notices of the Union Library Company, for instance, appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. There were also the Amicable Company, a workingmen's library, and the Association Library, whose members were mostly Quakers. The collections of the two philosophical societies, the American Philosophical Society and the American Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, were amalgamated, and "made generally available under David Rittenhouse as librarian."¹⁵ It was with good reason that Franklin suggested that the "town libraries" could serve the masters and students if the academy were situated near them.

On June 14, 1764, upon the occasion of the Rev. Richard Peters' departure for England, Provost Smith, in behalf of the

faculty, addressed to him a formal letter of appreciation for his support of the University:

“Your Name [Smith said] stands among the first of those who set this pious Design on Foot. Your Zeal for its Advancement shone conspicuous in your Sermon preached at the Opening of it; and in the Course of fourteen Years, in which you have always acted as a Trustee, and a great Part of the Time President of the Board, this Zeal hath suffered no Remission. . . . You saw the Institution rise up from small Beginnings; and, after a Series of Labors, in which you have borne an eminent Share, it must give you the highest Joy to behold it, by the Blessing of God, now likely to be placed on a respectable and solid Foundation.”¹⁶

Peters’ concern for the University found partial expression in gifts of books, and although Smith does not mention the Library, in the bicentenary of its founding one can read into his words a wider application and a special significance. Indeed, the present “masters” and students of the University can be grateful, not only for the devotion of men like Smith and Peters, but specifically for the growth of their Library from the small, one-sided, and fragmentary beginnings of two hundred years ago to the great collection of today.

NOTES

1. Benjamin Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1749, p. 8.
2. *Minutes of the Trustees of the College Academy and Charitable Schools*. Ms.
3. The Founder’s Collection, now part of the Rare Book Collection, was assembled by Miss Edith Hartwell.
4. These were probably an edition of Nathan Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* and Thomas Dyche’s *A New General English Dictionary*; the Library now owns a copy of the 1781 edition of the latter.
5. This might have been either the 4th or 2d edition of Charles Rollin’s *The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*.
6. G. L. McKay, “American Book Auction Catalogues,” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, XXIX: 162 (1935).
7. Ms. letter in *Shippen Papers: I, Balch Papers* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (PHi).
8. Ms. (PHi).

9. See the account in Austin K. Gray's *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, Philadelphia, c. 1937, p. 8-11.
10. Benjamin Martin, *Lingua Britannia Reformata: or, A New English Dictionary . . . to which is Prefix'd, An Introduction, Containing a Physico-Grammatical Essay on the Propriety and Rationale of the English Tongue . . .*, London, 1749.
11. *Peters Papers*, VII (PHi).
12. See article by C. Seymour Thompson in *University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle*, II: 38-48, 60-67 (1934).
13. E. P. Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940*, Philadelphia, 1940. Franklin's *Idea of the English School* in 1751 and Smith's *Idea of the College of Mirania* in 1752, though antedating the *Plan*, were proposals rather than curricula in practice. The *Plan of Education* was later published in Smith's *Discourses* as "Account of the College Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania."
14. Advertisement in *The American Weekly Mercury*, Dec. 28, 1731.
15. For a discussion of eighteenth century libraries in Philadelphia see C. and J. Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen*, Philadelphia, 1940.
16. *Peters Papers*, V (PHi).

Sine Quibus Non

The University of Pennsylvania Librarians

M. ELIZABETH SHINN

THE history of a nation cannot be treated as merely a series of tendencies and trends, periods of prosperity and depression, without a taking into account of the personalities which influenced or were influenced by the passage of events. In similar fashion, the first two hundred years of the University Library cannot be viewed solely in the light of material growth, structural extensions and alterations, bibliographical acquisitions, withdrawals and replacements. The men who guided the destinies and directed the development of the Library during those two hundred years are important factors.

Reviewing the men who have been given specific charge of the University Library we are impressed with their diverse types, their mixture of national and religious backgrounds, training and tastes. They are marked by no single common trait. There are clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal, Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches, the son of a rabbi who considered at one time following his father's profession, and a Roman Catholic turned from the ranks of the Episcopal clergy. There are a former captain in the United States Army, an ex-city councilman, and professional librarians. There are public school teachers and professors of history, mathematics, political economy, the classics, Semitics, and English literature. It is obvious that no particular pattern of qualifications was required by the authorities in their selection of supervisors of the Library.

In turn, no one of the men who served as director of this branch of University activity developed the collection in areas of his own particular interests to the neglect of other fields of knowledge. A preponderance of acquisitions in no single field can be assigned to the administration of any one man.

Perhaps the trustees had in mind some such standards as are set forth in a letter written in 1650 to his friend Samuel Hartwell by John Dury, noted Scottish divine who was at that time assistant to Bulstrode Whitlock in the care of the "King's

Library." The letter contains some noteworthy suggestions about cataloguing procedure and the writing of annual reports along with some qualifications for the office of librarian. Dury observes that "if Librarie-keepers did understand themselves in the nature of their work, and would make themselves, as they ought to bee, useful in their places in a publick waie; they ought to become agents for the advancement of universal Learning." He suggests that "a man of parts and generous thoughts" be attracted to the position "and that none should be called thereunto but such as had approved themselves zealous and profitable in som publick waies of Learning to advance the same." The principal function of his office "is to keep the publick stock of Learning, which is in Books and Manuscripts to increas it, and to propose it to others in the waie which may bee most useful unto all; his work then is to bee a Factor and Trader for helps to Learning, and a Treasurer to keep them, and a dispenser to applie them to use, or to see them well used, or at least not abused."

Even a cursory view of the careers of the men, as far as we can determine them, who have been given the care of the Library during its first two hundred years will show that there is no "typical" University of Pennsylvania librarian. We shall assuredly find men "of parts and generous thoughts" who subordinated their personal preferences to the requirements of the institution, men who, having "approved themselves zealous and profitable in som publick waies of Learning to advance the same," served as true "Factors and Traders for helps to learning" but without engraving their own identity on any part of the whole.

Only a few individuals were designated by name as specifically responsible for the administration of the Library, for during the years 1750 to 1831 the Faculty was, *ex officio*, custodian of the library collection. No doubt individuals were entrusted with the responsibility of supervising student use of the books, but their identity is hard to establish. The extensive reading list recommended for student consumption as early as 1756 suggests that the Library was put to considerable use in its early days, and the now nameless faculty guardians of the locked book shelves must have spent much time and energy, as faculty members so frequently do, beyond the strict line of professorial duty.

In 1831 the Library was placed under the care of the provost and this arrangement held during the terms of two provosts and the first year of a third. The first provost to take over that duty was *William Heathcote DeLancey, D.D.* (1797–1865), an Episcopal clergyman who was serving with distinction as assistant to Bishop White in Philadelphia at the time of his election as Provost of the University. Though only thirty years of age, he was unanimously elected to the provostship in 1828, a low point in a period of decline and difficulty for the institution. In the next five years Dr. DeLancey helped to arrest this decline. He used vigorous measures to raise the standards of scholarship and discipline and we can be reasonably sure that the Library was not neglected during his active administration. He resigned as provost in 1833 and applied the same zeal to the pursuit of his original profession as rector of St. Peter's in Philadelphia and later as bishop of western New York.

Dr. DeLancey was succeeded as provost by *John Ludlow, D.D., LL.D.* (1793–1857), who served from 1834 to 1853 and in consequence had the Library under his eye for almost a score of years. He also was a clergyman, of the Dutch Reformed Church, and had taught at the Theological Seminary in New Brunswick, N. J., and was pastor of a church there. His chief interests probably remained in the work of the church, and he resigned from the University in 1853 to return to New Brunswick as professor of ecclesiastical history and church government in the Theological Seminary.

The next provost, *Henry Vethake, LL.D.* (1792–1866) was *ex officio* head of the Library for only the first year of his administration. Dr. Vethake, a graduate of Columbia, had studied law and had taught mathematics and natural philosophy at Princeton and at Dickinson before coming to Pennsylvania in 1836 as Professor of Mathematics. He also taught intellectual and moral philosophy and was vice-provost before his election to the provostship in 1854. He resigned in 1859 to teach higher mathematics at the Philadelphia Polytechnic College until the time of his death. During his administration it was felt that the Library, enlarged by gifts and increasingly used by a growing student body, should be placed under the special care of a librarian. The

Professor of Belles-Lettres and the English Language and Literature was chosen as the appropriate heir to this duty. The management of the Library was thus, *ex officio*, the responsibility of three such professors in turn.

Henry Coppée, LL.D. (1821–1895), was the first to act in this capacity, from 1855 to 1866. Dr. Coppée's background was a singular one for a man of letters, for he had served in the Mexican War, reaching the rank of captain, and had taught history and ethics at West Point before coming to the University. His own literary production, including books on literature and literary criticism, history, biography and military strategy, indicates that his interests and talents were diverse. He left the University to become president of Lehigh University.

Charles Janeway Stillé, LL.D. (1819–1899), a native Philadelphian and an alumnus of Yale, followed Dr. Coppée as Professor of Belles-Lettres and the English Language and Literature, and consequently as Librarian, in 1866. His title was changed to Professor of History and English Literature the following year, and from 1868 until 1880 he was provost. His was an energetic and eventful administration, for under him the University was moved to its enlarged location in West Philadelphia and the new scientific school was opened. College Hall, erected in 1871, received the Library's collection into its new and ample cases. Obviously the duties of provost in the midst of an expansion program, in addition to teaching, were a sufficiently heavy load for Dr. Stillé, so that in 1872 he was relieved of his library responsibilities. In 1878 he became John Welsh Centennial Professor of History and English Literature and after his retirement as provost in 1880 he had the title of Emeritus John Welsh Professor until 1884. In addition to his University activities he acted as president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and found time to write several works on various phases of American history.

Robert Ellis Thompson, D.D., Ph.D. (1844–1924) acted as Librarian in addition to his teaching in the departments of Mathematics, Latin and Social Science from 1872 until 1884, when he became John Welsh Centennial Professor of History and English Literature. He was a native of Ireland, a graduate of the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania. He was also a Presbyterian minister, and a man of strong opinions and vigorous manner. We are told that his writing was large and bold, a quill always being preferred. He served as Dean of the Wharton School from 1881 to 1883 and left the University in 1892 to become, in 1894, president of Philadelphia's Central High School, where he endeared himself to the student body to such a degree that the alumni protested his retirement in 1920. His written works were generally in the field of political economy.

It was in 1884 that the Library for the first time was given into the hands of a full-time professional librarian, with no other duty than to supervise and administer the growing collection, still housed in College Hall. *James Gaston Barnwell (1833–1919)* was chosen to fill this position, which he held till 1887. Born in Ireland, educated in Philadelphia schools, he had been a member of city council and had taught with great success in the city schools. He was registered at Central High School as James Grant Barnwell, but in later life he seems to have substituted his mother's maiden name, Gaston, for the middle name. He came to the University Library after more than fifteen years as director of the Philadelphia Mercantile Library, having previously organized and catalogued the Cincinnati Mercantile Library. On resigning from the librarianship at the University he became Librarian of the Philadelphia Library Company, continuing in that post till 1907. He spent much time on his own personal library, which was an unusually large and fine one. At his death he made a bequest of \$500 to the University Library, the income of which was to be used for acquisitions in some one subject, the particular field not specified. The Library has applied the income from the fund to bibliography, possibly because it had been one of Mr. Barnwell's special interests, for he had produced several books on bibliographical subjects.

The second full-time Librarian of the University, *Gregory Bernard Keen (1844–1930)*, had the satisfaction of seeing the overgrown library collection moved into its new and, at that time, adequate quarters in the present building. He was a Philadelphian by birth and a graduate of the University. His middle name was originally Bedell, but, as in the case of his predecessor,

later records show a permanent change. He had received training as a Protestant Episcopal clergyman, but later became a Roman Catholic and taught mathematics at the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Overbrook. He was a student of Greek literature and history, publishing various books and translations relating to early American history. He became Librarian at the University in 1887 and moved into the new building which was opened for use in the fall of 1890. He remained in charge until 1897, when he resigned to become Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and later its Curator.

Another distinguished son of the University, *Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D. (1861-1921)* was appointed Librarian in 1897, having previously served as Assistant Librarian since 1889. He was the son of a learned Polish rabbi, educated in Philadelphia schools and graduated from the University in 1881. He received his doctorate at Leipzig and returned to Pennsylvania as Professor of Semitic languages in 1892. He was an authority on Semitic religions, language and literature, his book "The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," in both English and German editions, becoming a generally accepted standard work. He remained Librarian until 1919, at the same time teaching Semitic languages and engaging in research and a considerable literary production.

Dr. Jastrow was followed in 1919 by *Asa Don Dickinson (born 1876)* as Librarian. A native of Detroit, Mr. Dickinson's entire career has been spent in library and editorial work. Before coming to the University Library he had been Librarian at Union College and Washington State College, and he had seen war service for the American Library Association during World War I, both in this country and in Paris. He remained at the University until 1931 when he resigned to become Librarian of Brooklyn College. He retired in 1945 and is now living in Swarthmore, Pa. His "best books" collections are well known, and he edited a number of popular children's books.

The Assistant Librarian and Reference Librarian from 1927 till 1930, *Charles Seymour Thompson (born 1879)*, was made Librarian on Mr. Dickinson's resignation. A graduate of Yale, he had had previous connection with large libraries in Brooklyn,

Washington and Savannah, and had edited a survey of libraries in the United States. He retired in 1945 and the title of librarian was then discontinued. The position of Director of Libraries had been created in 1940 and the functions of Librarian in the Main Library were merged with those of the Director on the resignation of Mr. Thompson.

Charles Wendell David, Ph.D. (born 1885), who had come to the University as Director of Libraries in 1940, has been the head of the Library since 1945. His education was received at Northwestern University, at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, at the University of Wisconsin, and at Harvard. His previous experience was mainly in teaching, for he had been Associate Professor and later Professor of European History at Bryn Mawr from 1918 until 1940, when he was made Marjorie Walter Goodhart Professor of History, a chair occupied until 1946. He also taught history at Pennsylvania and has published a number of studies in medieval history.

The Library has been no mere result of spontaneous growth, but is the product of the applied wisdom of men, especially these twelve, assisted always by a host of skillful subordinates. Though they all have other rights to distinction, for all have been scholars or teachers or preachers of considerable note, the Library lays claim to them. Their composite portrait is the Library itself—*si monumentum requiris, circumspice*.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The materials for this survey have been drawn from numerous sources, including files of old records and University catalogues (1865–1950). In addition the following books have been principally consulted: *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1928–44; Joshua L. Chamberlain, ed., *The University of Pennsylvania*, 1901–02; Edward Potts Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania 1740–1940*, 1940; *Who's Who in America*, 1950–1951; *Who Was Who in America*, 1897–1942; *Literature of Libraries of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1906–1907, v. 2.

The Commencement Dialogues and Odes of the College of Philadelphia

THOMAS R. ADAMS

WILLIAM SMITH, the first Provost of what is now the University of Pennsylvania, had hopes of making his College of Philadelphia something more than just an educational institution for young gentlemen; he wanted to make it the center of cultural life in colonial America. Around the College was to flourish a literary society which would bring honor to it, the city, the colony and perhaps even to the Provost himself. He encouraged the young men under his instruction to engage in literary pursuits of many kinds. Out of this activity came the first play written and produced in America, Thomas Godfrey's *Prince of Parthia*, while Francis Hopkinson's early literary stimulation occurred during the days when he was one of Smith's pupils.

The dialogues here presented, in a bibliographical form, are a segment of this effort. Composed principally by the students, they were a part of the yearly commencement exercises of the college, which, as public affairs, were attended by the prominent citizens of the city and were in a sense civic events. The reading of the dialogues and odes usually concluded the ceremonies, and their publication attests the general public interest in the Provost's ambition. The earliest ones were printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the first in 1754, but by 1757 William Dunlap appears to have considered it worthwhile to bring the odes out separately. Although the Academy ledger, which records the expenditure of funds of the College, contains no record of monies paid to a printer for work done during the 1760's, it would be impossible to state with absolute certainty that the printing was not subsidized. On the other hand, it is possible that the printers felt that there was a demand for publication of the students' efforts, for the dialogue published in 1761 was not only sold in Philadelphia but, as the imprint tells us, copies were sent to New York for sale. These literary efforts were, then, the College of Philadelphia's contribution to the establishment of a literary tradition in Philadelphia.

The following arrangement is chronological, with authorship indicated in the notes. The relationship of the Provost to the composition of the pieces is a peculiar one. We know that he actually wrote some of them, and there is strong evidence that most of the others were submitted to his editorial pen before they were sent to the printer. It is unlikely that he would permit something as important to him as these dialogues to go unsupervised.

The location of copies is based on the Union Catalog, Library of Congress and the Union Library Catalogue of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area.

1761.

1. An/exercise,/containing/a dialogue and ode/sacred to the memory of His late gracious Majesty,/George II./Performed at the public commencement in the College of/Philadelphia, May 23d, 1761./The ode written and set to music/by Francis Hopkinson, esq; M. A. in said college./

Philadelphia:/Printed by W. Dunlap, in Market-street,
MDCCLXI.

Collation: 4to. 8 p. [-]⁴.

Evans 8882; Sabin 84606; Hildeburn 1736; Wegelin 209.

Census: P, PHi, ICU (*Photostat*).

The dialogue was written by William Smith according to a note in *The Miscellaneous Works of Francis Hopkinson*, Philadelphia, 1792, v. 3, p. 77. The ode is by Francis Hopkinson. A manuscript note in the copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania indicates that Alexander Wilcox took the part of Eugenio, and William Kinnersly the part of Amyntor.

2. An exercise,/consisting of/a dialogue and ode,/sacred to the memory of His Late/Gracious/Majesty,/Geogre [sic] II./Performed at the public commencement in/the College of Philadelphia, May 23,/MDCCLXI./ <The ode set to music, and sung with the organ, &c.> /[four long rules, broken in center]/

Philadelphia:/Printed and sold by Andrew Steuart, in S-/econd-street: and by Hugh Gaine, in New-York. [1761]

Collation: 8vo. 8 p. [-]⁸.

Sabin 84607.

Census: PU.

No effort has been made to determine priority between this and no. 1.

1762.

3. An/exercise,/containing/a dialogue and ode/on the accession of his present Gracious Majesty,/George III./Performed at the public commencement in the College of/Philadelphia, May 18th, 1762./[long double rule]/

Philadelphia:/Printed by W. Dunlap, in Market-street, M,DCC,LXII.

Collation: 4to. 8 p. [-]⁴.

Evans 9108; Sabin 23387, 32978, 84608; Hildeburn 1813; Wegelin 207.

Census: ICU, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL.

Delivery noted in the minutes of the Trustees for May 18, 1762; no mention of the participants. Montgomery declares that William Smith wrote the dialogue and Francis Hopkinson wrote the ode. However, Hopkinson in his works (*op. cit.*, no. 1, p. 83) states that the dialogue was by Jacob Duché. The latter attribution would seem more reasonable; Gegenheimer accepts Duché as the author.

1763.

4. An/exercise,/containing/a dialogue and ode/on/peace./ Performed at the public commencement in the/College of Philadelphia, May 17th, 1763./[long rule]/[four lines of quotation from Pope, one from Virgil]/[long double rule]/

Philadelphia:/Printed by Andrew Steuart, at the Bible-in-heart,/in Second-street, M,DCC,LXIII.

Collation: 8vo. 8 p. [-]⁴.

Evans 9484; Sabin 23388, 84610 note; Hildeburn 1891; Wegelin 579.

Census: MBC, PPL, PU.

Delivery noted in the minutes of the Trustees for May 17, 1763; no mention of the participants. Sabin credits the dialogue to Nathaniel Evans and the ode to Paul Jackson. The University of Pennsylvania copy is inlaid throughout and extra illustrated with the manuscript of the dialogue.

1765.

5. Dialogue, &c./for the commencement in the College of/ Philadelphia,/May 30th, 1765.

[Philadelphia: Printed by William Dunlap, 1765]

Caption title.

Collation: 8vo. 4 p. [-]².

Evans 10131; Sabin 84610 note; Hildeburn 2159; Wegelin 306.

Census: CtHWatk, P, PHi, PU.

Delivery noted in the minutes of the Trustees for May 31, 1765, stating that Richard Peters and William Kinnersly were the participants. Hildeburn attributes it to Richard Peters on the basis of the original manuscript in his handwriting.

1766.

6. An/exercise,/containing/a/dialogue and two odes/performed at the public commencement in the College of/Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766./[long double rule]/

Philadelphia:/Printed by W. Dunlap, in Market-street,
M,DCC,LXVI.

Collation: 4to. 8 p. [-]⁴.

Evans 10336; Sabin 61643, 84610 note; Hildeburn 2227; Wegelin 213.

Census: P, PHi, PPL, PU, PU-S.

Delivery noted in the minutes of the Trustees for May 20, 1766, stating that the dialogue was delivered by Richard Lee and Phineas Bond, the ode was sung by “the two masters Banks sons.” Horace W. Smith attributes this to William Smith but the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for June 5, 1766 reads: “Written, chiefly by one of the candidates, Thomas Hopkinson.” This latter would seem to be the correct attribution.

1767.

7. An/exercise,/containing/a/dialogue and two odes,/performed at the public commencement in the College/of Philadelphia, November 17, 1767./[long rule]/[vignette, Royal arms of Great Britain]/[long double rule]/

Philadelphia:/Printed by William Goddard, in Market-street. [1767]

Collation: 4to. 8 p. [-]⁴.

Evans 10594; Sabin 23389, 84610 note; Hildeburn 2294; Wegelin 580.

Census: P, PHi, PPL, PU, RPB.

Entry in the Trustees minutes for Nov. 17, 1767, reads: "An elegant dialogue written in verse by Thomas Coombe, was also spoken [by him] . . . & an ode set to music was sung by master John Bankson."

1770.

8. An/exercise,/containing/a/dialogue and two odes,/performed at the/commencement/in the/College of Philadelphia,/June 5th, 1770./[long ornamental rule]/

Philadelphia, printed by J. Crukshank, and I. Collins. [1770]

Collation: 4to. 8 p. [-]⁴.

Sabin 84610 (note).

Census: PU.

The only mention of this *Exercise* is in Horace W. Smith's life of William Smith where he attributes it to the Provost. The same source inaccurately attributes many of the other dialogues to William Smith which leads us to suspect this may well be an error.

1775.

9. An/exercise;/containing,/a/dialogue and two odes/set to music,/for the/public commencement,/in the/College of Philadelphia,/May 17th, 1775./ [long double rule]/

Philadelphia:/Printed by Joseph Crukshank, in Market-street, between Second and Third streets. M DCC LXXV.

Collation: 8vo. 8 p. [-]⁴.

Evans 14396; Sabin 84609; Hildeburn 3205; Wegelin 581.

Census: DLC, NN, PHi-Brint, PPL, PU, PU-S, RPJCB.

This was issued both separately and bound with *Account of the commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 17, 1775*. [Philadelphia, 1775].

Entry in the Trustees minutes for May 17, 1775, reads: "A dialogue in verse, with two odes set and performed to music. The speakers in the dialogue were John Farrel, Francis B. Sappington & William Moore Smith." On the wrapper of the copy at the University of Pennsylvania, in manuscript: "This dialogue was prepared by William Smith, D. D. I own the original ms. H[orace] W[emyss] S[mith] 1871."

1776.

10. [Ghost] An exercise, containing a dialogue and two odes set to music.

Philadelphia, 1776.

Hildeburn 3359; Wegelin 582.

Census: Spurious publication.

Hildeburn gives as his source H. A. Brady's catalogue, lot 410. Wegelin probably copied from Hildeburn. The Trustees minutes for May 23, 1776, read: "The commencement is ordered a private one, on account of the present unsettled state of public affairs and the candidates are accordingly to be excused from the delivery of the public exercises usual on such occasions." Inasmuch as these dialogues were a part of the commencement exercises, it is safe to assume that this is a ghost.

1790.

11. An/exercise,/performed at the/public commencement,/ in the/College of Philadelphia,/July 17, 1790./Containing an ode, set to music,/sacred to the/memory of Dr. Franklin./ [long rule]/This exercise consists of lines, partly original, and partly selected or/altered from former similar compositions

in this college, as they were/hastily thrown together, for the occasion of the present commencement;/it is hoped that they will be received with the usual indulgence of a/candid public./[long rule]/

Philadelphia: Printed and sold by William Young, book-seller,/the corner of Second and Chesnut-streets./[short rule]
/M,DCC,XC.

Collation: 8vo. 11 p. [-]⁶.

Evans 22798; Sabin 84610.

Census: MBAt, PHi, PPL, PU, PU-S.

The copy in the American Antiquarian Society is stitched with Smith's *Two Sermons Delivered in Christ-Church*, Philadelphia, 1789, which bears a presentation inscription by the author to George Washington. This piece was probably prepared by Smith in an attempt to revive the traditions of his provostship.

Author Index: Coombe, Thomas—7
Duché, Jacob—3
Evans, Nathaniel—4
Hopkinson, Francis—1, 2, 3
Hopkinson, Thomas—6
Jackson, Paul—4
Peters, Richard—5
Smith, William—1, 2, 8, 9, 11

Location Symbols: CtHWatk Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn.
DLC Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
ICU University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
MBAt Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.
MBC Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
MH Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MiU-C University of Michigan, William L.
Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
NHi New York Historical Society, New York,
N. Y.
NN New York Public Library, New York,
N. Y.
P Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg,
Pa.
PHi Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila-
delphia, Pa.

PHi-Brint	Historical Society, Brinton Collection, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Phila- delphia, Pa.
PPL	The Library Company, Philadelphia, Pa.
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
PU-S	University of Pennsylvania, Edgar F. Smith Memorial Library, Philadel- phia, Pa.
RPB	Brown University, Providence, R. I.
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

References: Evans, Charles, *American Bibliography*, New York, 1941. 12 v.

Gegenheimer, Albert Frank, *William Smith, Educator and Churchman*, Philadelphia, 1943.

Hildeburn, Charles R., *The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, Philadelphia, 1885-86.

Montgomery, Thomas Harrison, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1900.

Sabin, Joseph, *Bibliotheca Americana*, New York, 1868-1936. 29 v.

Smith, Horace Wemyss, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith*, Philadelphia, 1880.

Wegelin, Oscar, *Early American Poetry*, New York, 1930. 2nd ed.

The Future of Research Libraries

Hysteria or Composure

RUDOLF HIRSCH

THE first and second articles of this issue trace important segments in the history of our University Library. Dealing primarily with facts, they stand on firm ground while the following remarks are bound to be indefinite and perhaps even vague. We may *hope* that fortune will provide our Library with continued good and intelligent leadership and with adequate support from farsighted men who recognize the Library's importance in the University's program of higher education and research; our future will depend in equal or even larger measure upon forces, beyond the control of the individual institution, which will shape the future of all libraries. For this reason the following observations are centered not so much on the anticipated development of our University Library, as on the general problems of librarianship in the second half of the 20th century.

It is hazardous to predict the future development of research libraries at a time when our entire culture appears to be singularly unstable. Yet one may be encouraged to make such an attempt, observing with equanimity that in the history of ideas continuity is the rule, and the hiatus, the very rare exception, notwithstanding the catastrophes that befall the world. Historical perspective furthers the understanding of past events and will prevent too hasty an evaluation of current tendencies.

Some of our more imaginative colleagues can visualize the stack or storage area of the library as shrinking to the dimensions of a fair-sized room filled with microfilm; others have expressed their belief that the same area must grow to mammoth dimensions. The literature of librarianship and documentation is filled with articles on microcards, microprint, microphotography, depository libraries, compact book storage, servo-mechanics, world abstracts, and world-wide catalogues. All too frequently these topics are discussed not as problems subservient to librarianship, but as main forces which may alter the course on which we travel. Do not some of these articles merely reflect our century's

trust in the limitless and inevitable progress of technology—a kind of “robot worship”? Is not this “technomania” largely responsible for the present underestimation of the individual’s value and merit, an understandable but dangerous outgrowth of materialistic and positivistic concepts prevalent in 20th century civilization?

Librarianship, like various other fields, has only recently declared its independent status and become a specialized “craft.” No longer satisfied to be considered an “auxiliary science,” it has claimed distinction from other arts. Inevitably, this led to an exaggerated emphasis of those techniques which may be regarded as the librarians’ own, and are not held in common with others. The result is a weakening of the ties which ought to bind us to other related branches of knowledge.

It would be wrong to contest the fact that our research libraries are in a stage of fluctuation, or to deny the importance of technological advances. The *mechanics* of library work, of collecting, cataloguing, preserving, and servicing, will undergo further changes; but it is doubtful whether the *fundamentals* underlying librarianship, which have remained unaltered for so long, will greatly change. These fundamentals may briefly be restated as follows: Expanding knowledge is recorded in multiple form. The past, present and future are interpreted and reinterpreted, and such renderings are to some extent reproduced for the perusal of others. The human mind will remain curious and continue to seek information and interpretation; there is little fear of saturation. The proper method of obtaining information and studying interpretation will remain visual as well as auditory, or, to express it in simpler terms, man will continue to read as well as listen. As long as large numbers of readers exist, books and magazines (printed or otherwise reproduced) will be collected, stored, preserved, recorded and administered for the use of readers in libraries.

Libraries have adjusted themselves to changes in the world about them: to the growth of literacy which led inevitably to the “library for the many”; to the lowering of standards of education, responsible for so much of the trash found in even our best research libraries; to the introduction of paper and the invention

of printing which accelerated the decline of the monastic library (suddenly faced with an outlay in cash or kind for the purchase of printed books where formerly free "labor" had provided new codices). Simultaneously the invention of printing hastened the rise of the city and educational library accumulating the printed book for reference and lending; libraries adjusted themselves to mass production and to industrialization which greatly expanded leisure, increased reading and inflated book production. Libraries have grown from collections of a few dozen or a few hundred volumes in the Middle Ages to the multi-million-volume libraries of today. They catered to the few, when few possessed the leisure and education to read; they have since changed to become an instrument of public and general education. The monastic and princely libraries have lost much of their importance and many have ceased to exist, while national libraries, the free libraries of towns, cities and states, university and college libraries, and special and specialized research libraries have developed to take on functions which could not have been performed by the older types of libraries. All these changes have taken place without major upheavals and without breaks in the continuity of library development.

Mounting book production, extension of the frontiers of knowledge, together with the increased use of reading materials, have created new problems and suggested new solutions. Methods which were adequate in libraries of the 18th and 19th centuries are found to be inadequate in libraries of our own era. Thus the cumbersome sheaf catalogue, satisfactory as long as accessions were few, has been superseded by the easily expanded, cumulative card catalogue; T. H. Hornes' comparatively simple system of classification¹ has developed into much more detailed systems like that of the Library of Congress. Conrad Gesner's early attempt at a universal bibliography² has gradually evolved into our modern highly specialized indexes and abstracts; the commercial fair catalogues (Messkataloge) have grown into our modern national bibliographies. The sanctity of the old reading room has, at least temporarily, been abandoned. The stacks have been thrown open to the reader, sometimes, we suspect, because of the lack of a staff adequate to handle all requests from readers. Other

innovations will continue to evolve, all defended in the name of progress, some to our real advantage, others merely practical but temporizing solutions for problems which are bound to become more involved as the production of books and magazines mounts and libraries grow in size.

The current exaggerated confidence in the mechanization of all aspects of life, including educational and intellectual processes, gives some of us an unwarranted trust that the library of the future will resemble a tremendous machine in which the desired information will be fed almost automatically to the inquiring public.³ In contrast to this concept, it is our opinion that the library of tomorrow will more nearly resemble the library of yesterday and that it will remain basically a collection of books and periodicals (whether they are on paper, film, or other materials), brought together and serviced by librarians, not clerks, and used in an individualized way by readers with varying aims, attitudes and abilities. It is our conviction that the university library will continue to grow in the second half of the 20th century basically in the same pattern in which it has grown in the past, but more firmly tied to all branches of scholarship, conscious of the fact that the whole of knowledge is its domain. To achieve this we shall require better-trained librarians with a broader and a more fundamental education, possessing better knowledge about more knowledge and about the sources from which it is derived. Greater care in selection and greater emphasis in the withdrawal of useless and inferior materials may be more strongly emphasized. Service may improve by being less concerned with mere quantity. With the growing ease of communication, many barriers now standing in the way of truly successful cooperation between libraries may fall. Television and teletype may facilitate such developments, but their application is in the realm of method. They will not alter the fundamentals. We fervently hope that the future of libraries will be shaped by the individual, intelligent and independent librarian and his scholarly colleagues, not by the technician and shop manager, thus avoiding the threat of Burnham's "managerial revolution" in librarianship.

Libraries in the second half of the 20th century will assuredly require continued and stable financial support. Should private institutions and individuals not be able to provide such resources in adequate measure, libraries will inevitably be forced to seek them in the form of tax support. Since libraries are a most important part of the educational and research apparatus of a nation, and since their high standards are, or at least should be, a matter of concern to the entire country, such public support would seem fully justified.

To sum up, it may be stated that librarianship faces new experiments, new methods, and some changes in concept. However, these are likely to develop from within, without radically altering the fundamentals of librarianship, and without spectacular “éclat” or catastrophic crises.

NOTES

1. *Outline for the Classification of a Library*, London, 1823.
2. *Pandectae*, Basle, 1548.
3. Like the recently reviewed “Doken,” a high speed reading machine “which could search the entire Library of Congress in ten seconds,” cf. *N. Y. Times*, 9.10.50, Sect. 4, p. 11.

Achievements, 1900–1950

Progress in the Sciences

AIMÉ PATRI*

Introduction. An occasional appraisal of past progress is very useful for a number of reasons. We would all like to know where we are going and, by extrapolating for a little way the path we have recently traversed, we might gain some hint of the future, provided we do not veer too sharply in our course or are not forced off into some detour. Then too we would like to know what we have accomplished and a general stocktaking gives us some of the necessary data. This listing of the achievements in science and philosophy during the past half century is extremely revealing. In fact it illustrates both the spectacular discoveries made in the specialized fields and the inability of anyone (pace Aimé Patri) to qualify as a competent judge of the relative importance of the discoveries in all fields. Even the cooperation of qualified friends, while a great help, cannot give the judgments an absolute value. It would be interesting to learn how important the items in this essay appear fifty years hence.

It is very easy for a specialist to find major errors both of omission and commission in the items judged worthy of being included in these lists. In fact the writer was astonished to find that the section on biology contained no mention of the discovery of "heterosis" or of its application to agriculture in hybrid corn, while certain claims, discarded by most biologists, were included, e.g. 1926 Bose, 1948 Lysenko, etc. Also it can be asserted categorically that, in spite of the 1933 item, genes have not been photographed.

The real achievement of M. Patri, however, is over and above the incidental flaws of his essay. To evaluate it properly the reader should attempt to make his own list of the great achievements of the last half century, in all of the fields he covered. The writer did so, and felt thoroughly and properly humiliated. M. Patri's lists deserve a most careful study.

CONWAY ZIRKLE

APPRAISED in terms of pure science and particularly of physics the half century now drawing to an end has been of a revolutionary character and without precedent in the history of human thought. Principles which we believed we could ascribe to the general framework of reason, like the "principle of the excluded middle" in mathematics, and that of "causality" in experimental physics, again became subject to question; the con-

* Translation of an article in *Paru*, No. 63, August-September 1950, published by permission of the author and "rédacteur en chef" of *Paru*, translated by Mr. Oliver Freud in collaboration with Mrs. Freud.—M. Aimé Patri intends to publish as a sequel to the present article a survey of achievements in literature and the arts.

cepts of space and time were shattered, and the prime importance of Euclidean geometry in the interpretation of the physical world disappeared. Appraising the four revolutions in physics, namely, the “quantum theory,” “restricted relativity,” “generalized relativity,” and “wave mechanics,” we find that each is of significance comparable to the revolutions brought about by Newton and Galileo in their respective generations. The presence of four major changes in one field during this half century, 1900–1950, shows an extraordinary acceleration in the development of human thought. Progress in theory and progress through experimentation have advanced at an almost equal pace; however, the same cannot be said for progress in technology which, in contrast, has slowed down as compared with the preceding century. Since the release of atomic energy is permitted to be used [so far] only for destructive purposes, we continue to live dependent on the sources of energy known in the 19th century—this in spite of numerous and important developments which have changed the framework of our daily life, such as aviation and radio.

Progress in the biological and social sciences was naturally slower and less synthetic than in the physical sciences. We find numerous important discoveries of details but not one really comprehensive penetration capable of uniting all the various elements. In spite of the progress in genetics which has tipped the balance towards a mutational “neo-Darwinism” rather than towards “Lamarckism,” the problem of “heredity of acquired characters” continues to stand in the way of the two great theories of evolution defined in the past century. The present half century has witnessed the development of a young science, psychology, based on direct observation of human or animal behaviour, and not any longer on the method of introspection. Works in sociology have been plentiful but without unity. The principal impulsive forces are still those given by Auguste Comte and Karl Marx during the past century. The discord between the development of the sciences dealing with inorganic matter and the sciences of men and life remains characteristic.

However, if we look upon those questions which remain unanswered we find that analogous problems withstand solution in the most divergent fields. The most important of these is the

problem of the relation between the individual and his environment, a problem which we find in pure mathematics (the discontinuous and the continuous) as well as in physics (particles and waves), in biology (the respective roles of "genes" and of the influences of environment) as well as in economic sociology (planned economy and liberty of the individual and the group). In the field of philosophy we notice on the one hand the development of the philosophy of science which appears to be dealing with methods rather than with results; on the other hand, in metaphysics which remains flourishing we find the return towards realism based on direct experience, turning away from the idealistic synthesis of the past century. This is the common denominator of such different ideas as those of H. Bergson, B. Russell, and E. Husserl, to give but a few examples.

Should we wish to name the ten men of genius who contributed most to modify our vision of the world, we might choose the following: David Hilbert (mathematics); Albert Einstein, Max Planck, and Louis de Broglie (physics); Hugo de Vries and Thomas H. Morgan (biology); Sigmund Freud (psychology); Henri Bergson, Bertrand Russell, and Edmund Husserl (philosophy).

MATHEMATICS AND LOGIC

1900	David Hilbert who, one year earlier, had proceeded to enumerate the necessary and sufficient axioms forming the basis of the "Euclidian geometry," announced at the International Congress of Paris the twenty-three problems in mathematics for which solutions were still to be found.
1900	M. G. Ricci and Lévi-Cività created the "tensor analysis" or "absolute differential calculus" destined to become the mathematical tool of relativistic physics.
1901	The statisticians Pearson, Galton, and Weldon founded the periodical <i>Biometrika</i> in order to develop the "calculus of correlations" in its application to the biological sciences.
1902	Henri Lebesgue generalized the meaning of "integral" so as to extend integration to "discontinuous functions."
1904	E. Zermelo expressed the "axiom of choice" concerning the possibility of arranging in order any class, though consisting of an infinite number of elements. This created a crisis in

mathematical thinking at the borderline of logic and philosophy; mathematicians were divided into two camps, according to whether they accept or reject the legitimacy of solutions which involve an infinity of operations, exceeding the possibilities of a human being.

1902–10 Hilbert and his school developed “functional algebra,” admitting as elements functions instead of points: Hilbert’s construction of space, a denumerable infinity of dimensions forming a converging sequence. These theses are especially useful in physics.

1906 Maurice Fréchet, utilizing the axiomatic method of Hilbert and the theory of transformation groups, generalized the idea of space by introducing “abstract spaces”; the nature of their elements remaining indeterminate, they are defined only by their interrelations. “Metric space” forms a special case.

1906 The psychologist Spearman established the “factorial analysis,” the development of the “calculus of correlations” for its application to the methods of testing.

1910–13 B. Russell and A. N. Whitehead, in their work *Principia Mathematica*, attached the fundamentals of mathematics to an enlarged logic (calculus of the theorems of classes and relations), but admitted only the two values of true and false; they attempted to derive therefrom those theorems pertaining to numbers which the axiomatic method of Jeans and Hilbert has left inaccessible to proof.

1923 In the opposite camp (that of Zermelo) L. E. J. Brouwer, stating the law of the “triple absurdity,” expressed doubt about the legitimacy of the logical principle of the “excluded middle,” and consequently, about the proof by absurdity in its application to infinite sets: according to him, if it is untrue that a proposition be false, it is *not* evident that it is true, except if one disposes of a direct method of effective proof (so-called “intuitionist” mathematics, the origin of which goes back to 1907).

1929 Theorem of Gödel on the impossibility of “saturating” a theory by its own means, or by means of an inferior order, so that there must subsist in its interior theorems which can neither be proved nor disproved except by having recourse to a system of superior order (as was stated more precisely by Gentzen in 1934).

1930 Extending the ideas of Brouwer, Heyting built an independent logic of the “excluded middle.”

1934 Hilbert and Bernays took up the study of the foundations of “metamorphoses” (arithmetic and geometric), having recourse to a “meta-mathematics” for building the “theory of proof.”

1935 Reichenbach interpreted the “calculus of probabilities” as a logic with an infinity of values intermediate between true and false (a first orientation in this direction is that of Lukasiewicz in 1921).

1939 Under the pen name of Nicholas Bourbaki, a group of young French mathematicians (apparently under the leadership of André Weil, brother of the metaphysicist) attempted the remodeling of mathematics in the spirit of the axiomatic method.

1944 The calculating machine E. N. I. A. (18,000 electronic tubes—University of Pennsylvania) replaced the mathematician in all his computations, but without relieving him from the effort of invention.

THEORETICAL PHYSICS

1900 Max Planck introduced the concept of the “quantum of action” or “particle of energy,” multiplied by time: energy is not emitted or absorbed in a continuous manner, but by steps corresponding to integer multiples of an indivisible constant unit. He broke with the “postulate of continuity” which, since Leibniz, was admitted in order to express the laws of nature by differential equations.

1905 “Theory of relativity” by Albert Einstein: the velocity of light in the vacuum is characterized as a limit which cannot be exceeded; interdependency of measurements of space and time which lose absolute meaning when isolated; variability of the mass of a body depending on its speed, hence, on energy. This overthrows the foundations of “rational mechanics” as believed since Galileo.

The “theory of relativity” is, however, still of the “classical” style, since it does not involve quanta, studying only macroscopic phenomena (of a higher order of magnitude). However, in a quite different paper of the same year, Einstein applied the “quantum theory” to optics, introducing the concept of the “photon” or particle of light energy. The light waves of Fresnel now have only a statistical significance, though there is no question of returning to Newton’s theory of light emission.

1908 “Geometry of the universe” by Minkowski, with the conception of a “four-dimensional space-time continuum” (one dimension being imaginary), in the light of the results of the (restricted) “relativity theory.” The geometry of the universe still preserves a Euclidian or semi-Euclidian character, without any curvature.

1911 E. Rutherford built the model of the atom in the form of a small solar system in which electro-magnetic forces should replace gravitational forces (positive nucleus and on the periphery negative electrons playing the role of satellites).

1913 Niels Bohr proposed a new model of the atom in agreement with the quantum theory. He broke with the preceding planetary model: some trajectories are excluded.

1912–15 “Generalized theory of relativity” by Albert Einstein: equivalence of a field of gravitational forces, and a field of inertia forces. Einstein established a more generalized law than Newton, considering gravitation as an expression of curvature of the space which in the vicinity of a mass loses its Euclidian character; recourse to the non-Euclidian geometry of Riemann, from which derived the idea of a finite universe, though without limits in its dimensions (light rays are able to extend without limitation).

1915 Sommerfeld introduced relativistic considerations into the study of the atom.

1917 The astronomer de Sitter, on the basis of calculations of “generalized relativity,” which introduced a cosmic force of repulsion as a counterbalance to attraction, foresaw the possibility of an “expanding universe” (eventually confirmed by the observation of “spiral nebulae”).

1923 “Wave mechanics” of Louis de Broglie who proposed a systematical association of waves, spreading out over the entire space not only to energy particles (photons), but also to particles of matter (protons and electrons). The particle was still being considered as a singular point of the “pilot wave.” First synthesis of the physics of continuity (waves) and the physics of discontinuity (particles).

1925 Uhlenbeck and Goudsmit succeeded in characterizing the electron by attributing to it a spinning motion around its own axis in addition to its motion on its trajectory.

1926 Wave mechanics of Erwin Schroedinger developed into “configuration spaces” which admit more than three dimensions.

sions in the case of waves associated with several particles. The particle was resolved into a “wave packet.”

1927 Max Born proposed a “probabilistic” interpretation of the waves of de Broglie and Schroedinger expressing the probability of the presence of particles. He broke with the objectivistic concept of the universe.

Werner Heisenberg established the “relations of incertitude,” according to which it is impossible to observe simultaneously and with the same exactitude both the position and the velocity of any particle; hence the resulting impossibility of predicting its future position in an exact manner. He broke with the classic concept of determinism; on the philosophical interpretation of this issue physicists became divided into two camps, with Planck, Einstein, Langevin (who admitted such a possibility) on the one side, and N. Bohr, Eddington, Dirac on the other side (those who rejected it).

1928 First draft of the “unitarian theory” was presented by A. Einstein, reuniting the gravitational and the electro-magnetic fields.

1930 Partial conciliation—presented by Dirac—between the relativistic mechanics involving elimination of absolute time, and wave mechanics which is still based on that hypothesis.

1949 New “unified field theory” by Einstein.

EXPERIMENTAL PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

1903 E. Rutherford announced the spontaneous splitting of radium into helium and radon; first observation of a transmutation, i.e., the appearance of a new element out of another element.

1908 Geiger counter for the enumeration of radio-active particles. This instrument was brought to perfection in 1928.

1910 Soddy made a distinction between the two notions “element” and “simple body” by establishing the existence of isotopes; several simple bodies having different atomic weights may correspond to the same element characterized by its chemical properties.

1912 Wilson succeeded in photographing the trajectory of electrons.

1916 Kossel established the theory of the chemical valence (stability of the layers of eight electrons).

1919 Rutherford carried out the first experimental transmutation of nitrogen into oxygen.

1923 Compton discovered the effect which carries his name: the exchange of energy between photon and electron.

1927 Davisson and Gerner demonstrated clearly the diffraction of electrons; from this it follows that particles of matter effectively behave like waves. Confirmation of "wave mechanics."

1929 Lawrence built the first cyclotron (accelerator of particles) in order to study the nucleus of the atom.

1930 Bothe and Becker discovered the "neutron," a particle of matter without any electric charge, of a mass approximately equal to that of the proton. This led to a revision of the ideas about the nucleus of the atom.

1933 Anderson discovered the positive electron, a particle of matter of a mass equal to that of the classical electron but with the opposite charge; its existence had been foreseen by Dirac. On this occasion, I. and F. Joliot-Curie on the one hand, and Thibaud on the other hand demonstrated that particles of energy are capable of being transformed into particles of matter and vice versa. These phenomena of materialization of energy and dematerialization of matter brought to an end the concept of the indestructibility of particles.

1933 Irène and Frédéric Joliot-Curie discovered artificial or induced radio-activity; artificial transmutation of aluminum into radio-phosphorus.

1937 Anderson discovered the "meson," a particle of matter of a mass intermediate between that of the "proton" and that of the "electron"; its existence had been foreseen by Yukawa in 1935.

1942 Fermi installed the first atomic pile in Chicago.

1945 Explosion of the atomic bomb.

1949 Gold is obtained by transmutation from an isotope of mercury.

ASTRONOMY

1900-11 Discovery and identification, by Wilson, Geitel, and Hess, of cosmic rays revealing radio-active emissions from sources foreign to our planet.

1912 Slipher noticed a shifting towards the red of the spectral lines from the "spiral nebulae," apparently an indication of

a velocity of winding inward (in the same manner as the pitch of a train whistle shifts to lower tones when the locomotive moves away).

1912 Miss Leavitt utilized the Cepheids (stars of variable luminosity) for calculating distances.

1913 Diagram of Russell gave classification of star types according to their temperatures and their dimensions with an hypothesis concerning the degree of their evolution. Stars are born as cold giants, and after shrinking while becoming heated, they end as frozen dwarfs.

1924 Laskett established the existence of a gas in spaces, absorbing the light; though there is empty space everywhere, there is no perfect vacuum.

1925 Lindblad and Oort proved the existence of a rotation of our "galaxy" (the milky way), which allows for a computation of its mass, including the dark bodies.

1929-36 Taking up the observation of Slipher, Hubble established the fact that the "spiral nebulae" appear to move away from our "galaxy," and consequently from each other, with a speed rising proportionally to their distance—confirmation of the hypothesis of the universe in expansion suggested since 1917 in a theoretical paper of de Sitter and explicitly supported by Abbé Lemaitre in 1927 and by Eddington in 1930.

1930 Discovery of Pluto, the tenth planet of our solar system.

1941 Lyot and Gentile established by photography the reality of the famous canals of the planet Mars (which does not mean that they are artifacts).

1948 Installation of the giant telescope on Mt. Palomar permitted the observer to reach spiral nebulae at distances up to one billion light-years.

BIOLOGY

1900 K. Landsteiner discovered the four blood groups and the rules of their incompatibility in transfusion. The same year P. Ehrlich discovered the "antibodies."

1901 H. de Vries demonstrated "mutations," abrupt variations altering some part of the organism, and capable of hereditary fixation, the action of environment being only occasionally the cause of their appearance. He broke with the concept of "evolution by continuous transition." The same year, de Vries

with several others rediscovered the Mendelian “laws of heredity.”

1903 G. Bertrand discovered the “oligo-elements,” indispensable for functioning of life, though they are present only in very small quantities in the organisms where they play the role not of materials, but of bio-catalysts.

1905 Starling created the “theory of the hormones.”

1906 Lefèvre calculated “basal metabolism.”

1907 Lapicque established the law of the excitability of the nerves as a function of time (notion of “chronaxie”).

1908 J. Loeb extended the notion of “tropism” from the vegetable kingdom into the animal kingdom, and clarified the laws of the “reactions of orientation” to various stimulants of the physical world.

1910 Th. H. Morgan and his school established the “chromosome theory of heredity.”

1910 Bataillon succeeded in obtaining parthenogenesis (segmentation without intervention of a male) of the frog’s egg.

1910 Discovery by Boysen-Jensen of the “auxines,” most important vegetable hormones, factors of plant growth.

1912 Funk discovered vitamins.

1912 Carrel kept alive a piece of an organism. This culture died, only by accident, in 1942 while the animal from which it was taken could not have lived longer than until 1922.

1912 Somer and Heyman kept the severed head of a dog alive by artificial circulation; the brain activity was preserved in the head as proven by the continued reaction to exterior stimulants.

1913 Steinach succeeded in carrying out an experimental transformation of sex, by grafting testicles.

1915 D’Herelle discovered a microbe of microbes (the “bacteriophage”), apparently an indication of the existence of phenomena of life at an infra-cellular scale of large molecules.

1917 Thunberg establishing his new theory of “cellular respiration,” replacing that of Lavoisier, showed that biological oxidations sustain a dehydrogenization which works by the means of certain ferments.

1918 R. Lillie fabricated an artificial nerve to demonstrate the electric phenomenon which accompanies the passage of the nervous influx (depolarization).

1921 Works on experimental embryology by Speman and his school confirmed by means of the grafting technique the hypothesis of "epigenesis" (non-preformation); discovery of the "organization center."

1926 Work of Jagadis Chunder Bose (Calcutta) established the existence of reactions which are common in the three kingdoms: animal, vegetable, and mineral.

1927 Berger discovered the electric waves which accompany the brain function.

1927 H. Muller obtained artificial mutations by X-rays, but was not able to direct them.

1928 Fleming discovered the actions of penicillin.

1932 Nachmansohn, Dale, and Loewy demonstrated the chemical phenomena accompanying the passage of a nervous influx (production of acetylcholine); the nervous system acts like a gland with internal secretion.

1933 Microscopic photography detected the reality of the "genes" assumed by the "chromosome theory of heredity" (Painter, Heitz, and Bauer).

1935 Stanley obtained the crystallization of the virus of the disease of tobacco, apparently an indication of a form of transition between living and non-living matter; important for a new understanding of the problem of spontaneous generation.

1939 Parthenogenesis of the rabbit egg (obtained by G. Pincus).

1941 Zawadowski obtained experimentally the "phenomenon of twinning."

1945 The physicist Schroedinger proposed an hypothesis on the nature of life which he attached directly to micro-physical phenomena beyond the body of classical physics and chemistry involving inorganic matter.

1948 Russian scientist (Lysenko, school of Michurin) pretended to have obtained phenomena of directed evolution, and returned to the hypothesis of Lamarck on the direct action of environment in order to explain the transformations of living beings, beyond the work of western genetic science. This controversy is beclouded from both sides by political emotions (these theses date back to 1941).

1949 Ephrussi succeeded in directing certain mutations in the world of bacteria.

HUMAN AND ANIMAL PSYCHOLOGY

1900 Sigmund Freud, whose first writings on psychoanalysis date back to 1895, published *Die Traumdeutung*. Dreams appear as the symbolic expression of wishes repressed during the preceding day, principally but not exclusively of sexual origin. He broke with the postulate that the individual had complete knowledge of himself.

1903 “Conditioned reflexes” explained by I. P. Pavlov: starting from the favorite example of the dog’s salivary gland (later generalized by Bechtereov) it can be seen how any reaction of an organism can be conditioned by psychic means; break of the barrier between psychology and physiology.

1904 Spearman, applying the mathematical method of correlations to the “aptitude test,” laid the foundations of a measurement of intelligence, distinguishing the factor G (generalized aptitude) from the factors S (special aptitudes).

1905 Scale for development tests by Binet and Simon for the determination of the “mental age” and detection of abnormal children.

1905 Freud’s “theory of infantile sexuality.”

1910 L. Lévy-Bruhl published *Les fonctions dans les sociétés inférieures*: hypothesis of the action of a “primitive mentality” of a mystical and pre-logical character based on principles different from those which characterize reason for the civilized man. (Later the author himself made reservations as to that contrast which, however, preserves great structural if not genetical importance.)

1910 Batinski, reacting against the concepts of Charcot, suggested that hysteria be traced back to “pithiatism,” i.e., that all disturbances may be caused and cured by suggestion (in this rather exaggerated reaction, he is not followed by Freud and Janet).

1911 Bleuler, collaborator of Freud, introduced into psychiatry the notion of “schizophrenia” (rupture with reality), thus defining the “mal du siècle” (after the frequent occurrence of that disease in mental hospitals); he analyzed its positive symptoms (autistic thinking, ambivalence).

1912 A. Adler separated from Freud in order to found “individual psychology” independent from psychoanalysis. Notion of the “inferiority complex” and reactions of compensation to organic insufficiencies.

1912–14 Koehler, Koffka, and Wertheimer established the principles of the “Gestalts-Psychologie” (psychology of the form); the field of perception is not a sum of elements with constant properties in relation to the constancy of the excitations. Decisive break of experimental psychology with “associationism” and “psychological atomism” which had been condemned before only in the field of philosophy.

1913 C. G. Jung separated from Freud in order to found “analytical psychology”; hypothesis of the collective unconscious made up by arch-types independent of the individual memory; the author attempted to confirm them by confronting the spontaneous productions of his patients with the findings of comparative mythology.

1914 Freud, studying “narcissism,” renounced the opposition of sexual instincts to ego-instincts.

1920 Freud opposed the instincts of life to the instincts of death in which he expected to find the key to sadism and masochism.

1920 Koehler demonstrated that chimpanzees are capable of spontaneously using and even making tools.

1921 Kretschmer established relations between the shape of the body and the character.

1923–32 J. Piaget published his principal works on the mind of the child which he characterized by its “egocentrism.” He studied the steps of its intellectual and its moral development.

1924 Von Fritsch studied the “language” of the bees.

1926–28 P. Janet in his new studies on medical psychology (*De l'angoisse à l'extase*) appeared to promote a kind of French behaviorism; definition of conscience in terms of behavior as “reaction of the organism to his own reactions.”

1931–32 Kellogg experimented with the simultaneous education of a human child and a chimpanzee; the latter, whose mental development is faster than that of the child, stops at the threshold of language.

1934–43 Experiments by Rhine at Duke University to establish the reality of paranormal psychic phenomena: telepathy and telekinesy.

1934 Narco-analysis, quite improperly called “truth serum,” began to gain ground as a means of accelerated psychoanalysis and also for criminological purposes.

1936 Experiments by Wolfe: monkeys using automatic distributors.

1938 Bini and H. Carletti introduced electric shock into the therapy of mental diseases.

1939 Application of brain surgery into the therapy of mental disturbances.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND PREHISTORY

1900 Discovery of the Palace of Cnossos and the Minoic civilization by Evans.

1901 Discovery of the stele of Hammurabi carrying the code of the Babylonian laws (mission of Morgan).

1901 Discovery of the negroid race of Grimaldi, near Menton (French Riviera).

1906 Discovery of Boghaz-Kheui (Anatolia), the civilization of the Hittites, the Hurri, and the Mitannians.

1908 The Man of La Chapelle aux Saints (branch of the Neanderthal race, distinct from that of "homo sapiens").

1921 The proto-Indian civilization of Mohenjo-Djaro.

1922 Exploration of the royal tombs of Ur in Chaldea.

1923 Excavations of Kish (Mesopotamia): the oldest Semitic monuments.

1929 Discovery of the oldest alphabet (Ras Shamra).

1934 The Library of Persepolis (30,000 tablets).

1946 The oldest temples of the world (Eridu, in Mesopotamia).

1948 The oldest manuscripts of the Bible (first century B.C.). The gnostic papyri of the third century (47 unedited texts).

1948 Discovery of the skull top of Fontchevade (Charente, France) which raises a hint that "homo sapiens" could have been contemporary to Neanderthal Man.

SOCIOLOGY

A. ETHNOGRAPHY AND SOCIOLOGY OF PROTOHISTORY

1900 Deniker, *Les races et les peuples de la terre* (*The races of man*).

1902 E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (forms of marriage).

1906 Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*.

1910 L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (*How Natives Think*).

1912 E. Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaire de la vie religieuse*.

1911–15 Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (completion of a monumental cycle in 11 volumes, started in 1890, the largest investigation on human faith).

1920 Lowie, *Primitive Society*.

1922 B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (the present Melanesians).

1925 M. Mauss, *Essai sur le don, forme archaïque de l'échange*.

1934 Marcel Granet, *La pensée chinoise*.

1935 Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*.

1937 Van Gennep, *Le folklore; croyances et coutumes populaires françaises*.

1941–49 G. Dumezil, *Jupiter, Mars et Quirinus; essai sur la conception indo-européenne de la société et sur les origines de Rome* (theme of the tripartition of the social and religious functions in the mythology of the ancient Indo-European peoples).

1948 Varagnac, *Civilisation traditionnelle et genres de vie*.

1949 Mircéa Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (comparative mythology).

1949 C1. Lévi-Strauss, *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*.

B. THEORY AND DESCRIPTION OF MODERN CAPITALISM AND ITS EVOLUTION

1904–10 Publication by K. Kautsky on the history of the economic doctrines of Karl Marx to form volume 4 of *Das Kapital*.

1902–28 W. Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*.

1904 M. Weber, “Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus” (*Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*.)

1908 G. Sorel, *Réflexions sur la violence*.

1908 R. Hilferding, *Das Finanzkapital* (the capitalism of the monopolies, source of inspiration for Lenin in his *Imperialism*, published in 1915).

1911 I. Fisher, *The Purchasing Power of Money* (theory of price).

1912 Rosa Luxemburg, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* (the most original contribution to the theory of economic crises, but much disputed by the marxists themselves).

1912 M. Halbwachs, *La classe ouvrière et les niveaux de vie*.

1919 J. M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

1923 F. Simiand, *Le salaire, l'évolution sociale et la monnaie*.

1936 J. M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*.

1939–46 C. Bettelheim, *La planification soviétique*.

1940 Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (measurement of the index of civilization according to the importance of “services” other than those of agriculture and industry).

1941 Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution* (dissociation between the notions of planned economy and of proletarian socialism).

C. GENERAL SOCIOLOGY

1903 L. Lévy-Bruhl, *La morale et la science des moeurs (Ethics and moral science)*.

1912 Re-edition of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (Fundamental Concepts of Sociology)* by Tönnies, dominating the works of contemporary German sociology.

1916 V. Pareto, *Trattato di sociologia generale* (semi-marxist inspiration).

1921 N. Bukharin, *Teoriia istoricheskogo materializma* (historical materialism).

1929 K. Kautsky, *Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*.

1934 J. L. Moreno, *A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (development of “sociometry”; application of the testing method).

PHILOSOPHY

A. FRENCH PHILOSOPHY (AND PHILOSOPHY WRITTEN IN FRENCH)

1902 Henri Poincaré, *La science et l'hypothèse*.

1906 P. Duhem, *La théorie physique; son objet et sa structure*.

1907 O. Hamelin, *Essai sur les éléments principaux de la représentation*.

1908 H. Bergson, *L'évolution créatrice*.

1912 E. Meyerson, *Identité et réalité*.

1912 L. Brunschwig, *Les étapes de la philosophie mathématique*.

1914 J. Maritain, *La philosophie bergsonienne* (a Thomist critique).

1926 A. Lalande, *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie*; revu par mm. les membres et correspondants de la Société Française de Philosophie. . . .

1926-32 E. Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie*.

1927 L. Brunschwig, *Le progrès de la conscience dans la philosophie occidentale*.

1928 G. Marcel, *Journal métaphysique*.

1928 G. Politzer, *Critique des fondements de la psychologie*. . . .

1931 R. Guénon, *Le symbolisme de la croix* (philosophy of esoterism).

1932 H. Bergson, *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*.

1933 L. Lavelle, *La conscience de soi*.

1934 R. Le Senne, *Obstacle et valeur*.

1934 G. Bachelard, *Le nouvel esprit scientifique*.

1935 E. Mounier, *Révolution personneliste et communautaire (A Personalist Manifesto)*.

1936 F. Gonseth, *Les mathématiques et la réalité; essai sur la méthode axiomatique*.

1937 R. Ruyer, *La conscience et le corps*.

1939 Dupréel, *Esquisse d'une philosophie des valeurs*.

1943 J. P. Sartre, *L'être et le néant*.

1944 J. Wahl, *Existence humaine et transcendance*.

1947 Simone Weil, *La pesanteur et la grâce*.

1949 J. Piaget, *Introduction à l'épistémologie génétique*.

B. GERMAN PHILOSOPHY

1900 E. Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen*.

1905 Ernst Mach, *Erkenntnis und Irrtum*.

1913 Max Scheler, *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die materiale Wertethik*.

1919 K. Jaspers, *Psychologie der Weltanschauungen*.

1921 N. Hartmann, *Metaphysik der Erkenntnis* (outline of metaphysics of knowledge, cognition, perception).

1927 M. Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*.

1928 R. Carnap, *Der logische Aufbau der Welt; Versuch einer Konstitutionstheorie der Begriffe*.

1929 E. Husserl, *Transzendentale und formale Logik*.

1930 H. von Keyserling, *Südamerikanische Meditationen*.

1932 K. Jaspers, *Philosophie*.
 1939 E. Husserl, *Erfahrung und Urteil*.
 1943 M. Heidegger, *Vom Wesen der Wahrheit*.

C. ITALIAN AND RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHY

1900–02 Benedetto Croce, *Tesi fondamentali di un'estetica*, and *L'estetica*.
 1908 Lenin, *Materializm i empiriokrititsizm* (Materialism and empirio-criticism).

D. ENGLISH-AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY

1903 B. Russell (and Whitehead), *The Principles of Mathematics* (first edition).
 1907 William James, *Pragmatism, a New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*.
 1912 Holt, Marvin, Montagne, Perry, Pitkin and Spaulding in *New Realism* (basic writings of this “new” school proclaiming “new realism”).
 1912 W. E. Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*.
 1914 B. Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*.
 1917 J. Dewey, *Creative Intelligence* (the new pragmatism).
 1918 B. Russell, *Mysticism and Logic*.
 1920 Samuel Alexander, *Space, Time and Deity*.
 1921 Drake, Durant, Loocoy, Santanaya, Sellars and Strong, *Essays in Critical Realism; a Comparative Study of the Problem of Knowledge* (collected essays of the “new” school which opposes “neo-realism” as well as “idealism”).
 1922 L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus logico-mathematicus* (to the origin of logical positivism).
 1923 C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *Meaning of Meaning*.
 1925 A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*.
 1925 Ch. S. Pierce, *Chance, Love and Logic* (the ancestor of pragmatism; posthumous).
 1927 Bridgman, *The Logic of Modern Physics* (the theory of the “operational” in science).
 1929 C. I. Lewis, *Mind and the World-Order; Outline of a Theory of Knowledge*.
 1939–40 J. Dewey, *Freedom and Culture*.

“As Good Almost Kill A Man”¹

THOMAS P. HAVILAND

ON the tenth of May, 1933, with that pomp and pageantry of which it was so fond, the Nazi regime made one more attempt at what so many through the centuries had tried in vain. Trucks converged upon the square between Friedrich-Wilhelms University and the Opera House, to the accompaniment of martial music, flaring torches and the cheers of a great assemblage of uniformed men of the party and athletic youth. Their contents, a host of volumes offensive to the Third Reich, were fed to the leaping flames. Thus the New Germany embarked upon a very old and unfailingly futile task—the absolute regulation of a whole people’s thought through censorship of their reading. Thus an earlier dictator, Ch’in Shih Huang-ti, separating the Chinese from the outside world by the Great Wall, likewise undertook to shut off their minds, convinced that as men become wise they become worthless; in 213 B.C. he burned all books with but a few exceptions. So in 642 A.D. Omar ordered the burning of the great library of Alexandria. And John Milton, witnessing as late as 1644 one of a number of attempts to regulate printing in his beloved England, wrote those magnificent words:

“I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the church and commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men; . . . for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect who bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon’s teeth: and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet . . . as good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God’s image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself. . . . A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured upon purpose to a life beyond life. . . . Revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth for the want of which whole nations fare the worse.”²

Backed by the absolute authority of the state and pursued with devastating German thoroughness, the crusade by Goebbels, Hitler, and Company against the books came as near as any to success at a time when it was most an anomaly. “Freedom of

artistic creation is also guaranteed in the new state," wrote Goebbels. "This artistic creation [however] takes place within the sharply limited field of our national necessity and responsibility and these limits are fixed by politics, not art. . . . Nothing is too exalted and nothing too humble to be judged by the racial standard."³ So grew the list which reached well over 5000 entries, covering books in German or translated into German, which might not be sold by the German booktrade, and the possession of which might even bring death—a list constantly being added to, now made available under the date July 14, 1949 by the booksellers of Leipzig as "Ergänzung" I of the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie (Verzeichnis der Schriften, die 1933–1945 nicht angezeigt werden durften)*, "writings which between 1933 and 1945 might not be announced."

It is perhaps fruitless to speculate upon the whims of a madman, yet the temptation is strong for one interested in British and American literature to consider the 284 entries translated from our common tongue and the possible reasons for their proscription. Certain broad conclusions may be drawn: banned were books of antitotalitarian sentiment, those which preach the democratic way, those which disparage the noble Aryan, books considered "soft" (emphasizing the gentler aspects of Christianity, or antimilitaristic), books by, translated or published by, Jews, volumes unacceptable for political reasons, those which showed the stamina of Germany's enemies—and, of course, after the rupture of the unholy alliance, anything with a Moscow imprint. On the other hand, the basis of exclusion at times is very difficult to explain, certain apparently innocent works being numbered while titles by the same author seemingly more distasteful find no mention. Of course one explanation of this latter phenomenon is that the books here listed are those which had been made available for general circulation in the German tongue in Germany proper, in Switzerland, in Sweden, etc. So an English or American author might find very spotty representation. Extreme official displeasure at any one of an author's books proved usually sufficient to ban everything from his pen, be it ever so innocuous.

That Lord Byron, of classic writers, should find mention will surprise nobody, considering the fierce hatred of tyranny expressed in his life and in his works, particularly the "verboten" *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, with its frequent reference to despots

“Imperial anarchs, doubling human woes,” and its prophesy of their final overthrow:

“. . . the Madmen who have made men mad
By their contagion; conquerors and Kings
. . . their breath is agitation and their life
A storm whereon they ride, to sink at last⁴
. . . the dictatorial wreath—coulds’t thou divine
To what would dwindle that which made
Thee more than mortal? . . .”⁵

Here also is much presumably distasteful to a passive ally in the picture of a degenerate Spain, with its blood lust, its senseless cruelty, of Cadiz where, from the hands of a despot:

“Much is the VIRGIN teased to shrieve them free,
(Well do I ween the only virgin there.)”⁶

And, entirely distasteful to the Führer, the common soldier portrayed hopelessly dying—and to no purpose:

“The broken tools that tyrants cast away
By myriads, when they dare to pave their way
With human hearts . . .”⁷

Carrying the attack upon dictators to the present era and pointing the accusing finger directly at Fascism as an institution, Sinclair Lewis’ *It Can’t Happen Here* was published in German translation in Amsterdam in 1936. A fierce indictment of all that National Socialism stood for, in its picture of a mythical future Fascist revolt in the United States, it naturally made the list. Add to this the author’s socialist propensities, his early experiences in Upton Sinclair’s Cooperative Community, his marriage to the Germanophobe Dorothy Thompson, and one has ample explanation for banning all the works of Lewis available. Upton Sinclair, already mentioned as Lewis’ sometime mentor, also had his fling with the novel *Dragon’s Teeth*, in which the versatile Lanny Budd, traveling in Europe and seeing ominous portents, rescues relatives trapped in Nazi Germany. The pen portraits of Goering, Hitler and Goebbels must have been known and have stung, although the book itself is not interdicted, having apparently had no German-language publication without the borders. But the basic reason for the ban upon Upton Sinclair was his militant socialism from the time of *The Jungle* on, which saw his literary earnings go for some years into the experimental “Helicon

Home Colony," and reached its culmination in his astonishing "EPIC" Campaign in California. *World's End*, with its exposé of the munitions industry and dollar diplomacy in World War I, *Co-op*, the autobiographic *American Outpost*, *William Fox, the Life of a Film King*, *The Flivver King* (dealing with labor unions, etc.), *The End of Poverty*, are specifically outlawed.

Tom Wolfe (or George Webber, if you will), traveling in a Germany which he had loved well, recorded in *You Can't Go Home Again* certain disquieting experiences connected with the rise of Nazism, none more striking than the flight, and the final farewell on the station platform with friends of the past, now mutually distrustful as the new poison fills their veins. The episode of George's Jewish mistress would likewise be no recommendation. In much the same way, the prelude to Mary Ellen Chase's *Windswept*, wherein the American ladies in their touring car are forced to pull up and watch the heavy German mechanized column roll endlessly past on maneuvers, is heavy with ill-omen. As for the story proper, the happiness brought to a gentle Bohemian boy by the magnificent home on the Maine seacoast above rugged Schoodic Point, and by the American way of life so sharply in contrast to the poverty and frustration of his old-world home, would certainly not be considered acceptable propaganda. The inclusion of this excellent story by an exceedingly capable but distinctly minor novelist, and others of far less literary worth, testifies to the alertness of Goebbels' staff (and, incidentally, the alertness of the publishing house which made the novel available to German readers).

Ernest Hemingway's actual participation in the Spanish Civil War on the side of the Republicans naturally did nothing to recommend him; neither did his portrayal of the Falangists, their lust and their cruelty, through the eyes of Robert Jordan. *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is number 1766 on the list, yet strangely *A Farewell to Arms*, with its infelicitous picture of the Italian allies and its condemnation of the empty brutality of the campaign against the Austrians in World War I, is not listed. Certainly a censor who could condemn Munro Leaf's delightful *Ferdinand* because the gentle bull wouldn't fight but wanted only to sit peacefully under a cork tree, could hardly condone Lieutenant Henry's lack of martial spirit. This latter reason brought an official frown for Dos Passos' *Three Soldiers*, no one of them glorying in battle. Chrisfield, a homesick farm boy from Indiana, and

John Andrews, a college student who wants to be a musician, desert. Andrews defies the firing squad and, dramatically scattering his musical manuscript, speaks out against the wastefulness and the stupid regimentation of war.

The romantic Steinbeck's *The Moon is Down* naturally would be a thing to hate by that Führer whose fall it directly portrayed—but so was the naturalistic Steinbeck (always with his romantic core). *The Grapes of Wrath* one might first think grist for the Fascist mill, with its dark picture of migrant labor in our democracy—but presumably its sociological interest, its sympathy for the oppressed, put it beyond the pale. So too, *Of Mice and Men*, and, apparently for its mixed blood, *Tortilla Flat*. For company, Steinbeck has the gentle romantic, Louis Bromfield. Bromfield had his fling at Nazidom in a poorly written story, *Until the Day Breaks*, wherein a striptease artist from Evanston, to be classified in modern vernacular only as a dim bulb, easily checks the cunning of Gestapo agents in Paris. If Goebbels knew of it, he gave no sign. Rather the censorship fell heavily upon Bromfield as spokesman for a warm and democratic America. Specifically listed are *Wild is the River* (which, incidentally, dealing with New Orleans in 1862, plays up the underground, the determination of the natives though captive not to be conquered—a very sensitive matter for the Wehrmacht!), *The Man Who Had Everything*, *Mrs. Parkington*, *It Had to Happen*, *Bitter Lotus* and *The Rains Came* (a story of India).

Indeed, any book which asserted the democratic or unregimented way was a logical candidate for exclusion. So Aldous Huxley, in Stephen Spender's words "Concerned to assert the fundamental and basic individualism of human existence . . . what might be called a last-ditch individualist." A Stockholm translation *Unser Glaube* (Our Belief) is here listed, as well as Julian Huxley's *Democracy Marches*. Baden Powell's *Scouting for Boys* of course preaches a philosophy far different from the regimented "Strength through Joy"; Norman Angell's *Frieden und Sicherheits Pakte* "given out by the World Committee Against War and Fascism" belongs also in this general category. The fact that Stanley E. Jones was International Y.M.C.A. secretary would be in itself sufficient to condemn his *Victorious Living*.

Of the older writers, Henry Thoreau—mystic, transcendentalist, individualist-till-it-hurt, gentle and peace-loving as well—would have been as out of place in the Third Reich as "Ferdi-

nand.” But one is somewhat at a loss to explain why *Autumn* was singled out from all his writings, rather than, for instance, *Civil Disobedience* (and, incidentally, if Thoreau was poison, why not Emerson and his *Self Reliance*?). Could Herr Goebbels have possibly felt a twinge of conscience from such a whimsical passage as, speaking of the sight of two great boulders in a field:

“Such pictures cost nothing but eyes and it will not bankrupt me to own them. They were not stolen by any conquerors as spoils of war, and none can doubt but they are really the works of an old master.”⁸

Pearl Buck the censors disliked for her democratic sympathies, her championing of the humble Chinese peasant—and possibly for her missionary background. *Dragon Seed* and *Other Gods* might not pass the German frontier. Certainly no one could read the former without detesting thoroughly the Aryanized Japanese allies, smugglers of opium, bombers of open cities, perverts and sexual savages. Likewise forbidden were the anti-authoritarian Eric Knight, and Wendell Willkie’s *One World* (anathema, of course). Saroyan’s *The Human Comedy* may be included here (Is not, in the Aryan mind, the Armenian first cousin to the Jew?), Saroyan’s books being in the words of Professor Hart “a sentimental exaltation of characters ranging from Armenian-American workers to middle class business men, all somehow optimistically associated with the glory of the American dream.”⁹

A mind busy with the myth of Aryan supremacy could not for a moment tolerate such a book as Mrs. Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Unquestionably, to the Gestapo mind Simon Legree and the bloodhounds were only attending to duty, and Little Eva was a meddlesome brat. Huckleberry Finn’s easy fraternization with Nigger Jim as they drifted down the Mississippi apparently put Mark Twain’s book on Hitler’s little list. Could those supermen possibly have felt slightly sensitive also in the company of the two mountebanks, “The King” and “The Duke”? Richard Wright’s *Native Son*, published in Zurich in 1941, was banned on two obvious counts: its author’s being a self-educated Negro (according to some, our foremost colored novelist), and elements in the story itself—specifically Bigger Thomas’, raised in Chicago’s Little Africa, being taken by his employer’s daughter to a communist meeting, their subsequent relations leading to her murder. Marjorie Rawlings’ *Cross Creek* was apparently banned

too on racial grounds, slight as they may be. The Master Race must stand aloof and triumphant. Lemuel Gulliver, undoubtedly the perfect Aryan prototype (though English!) must not be permitted to suffer the ignominy of capture by the Lilliputians, nor appear so docile; nor should Dean Swift speak so mockingly of the frenetic struggles of the Big and Little Endians. Singled out for particular displeasure is the section "Gulliver among the Giants"; one wonders why, unless Mr. Hitler chose to take to himself the remark that ". . . a little contemptible varlet, without the least Title to Birth, Person, Wit or common Sense shall presume to look with importance and put himself on a Foot with the Greatest Persons of the [English] Kingdom."¹⁰

The descendants of Wotan were also careful of religious contamination, as evidenced in an exhaustive listing of pamphlets by "Judge" Rutherford, of Jehovah's Witnesses (a group, incidentally, drawing no color line) to the tune of 2½ pages, topped in number of entries only by Karl Marx and Joseph Stalin! C. S. Lewis' *Screwtape Letters*, in essence a justification of Christianity against the world, and containing much Church of England and High Episcopal doctrine, likewise irked Goebbels' office. Personally, I should not miss them, though many consider them quite pert. Presumably, though so many of the observances they record are German in origin, Charles Dickens' *Christmas Stories* were not approved for the New Reich (or was their translator, one Richard Zoogmann, *persona non grata*?)

A regime which could maintain the tenet expressed by Dr. Ernst Krieck, Rector of the University of Heidelberg, "We do not know or recognize truth for truth's sake or science for science's sake" naturally censored—as do the Russians today—its scientific literature: to cite examples of works banned, L. D. Weatherhead's *Psychology of Life (Ein Weg aus seelischen Nöten)*, James Jean's *Physics and Philosophy*, George W. Gray's *The Advancing Front of Medicine* (partly perhaps because of his work with the International Education Board). Suppression extended even to such pseudoscience as six entries by one Herbert Casson in the tradition of George Babbitt: *Imagination as a Business Builder*, *Fifty Questions for Shop Assistants*, *Ways to Be Rich*. For expatriate scientists such as Albert Einstein there could be no toleration—indeed for expatriates in general, scientists or no. So eleven pages devoted to Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, Thomas Mann (though for the purpose of this survey their books, most of those listed

being originally written in German, have not been counted as by English-language authors).

Certain political and military fare was not digestible in the Third Reich: President Roosevelt's ("Rosenfeld," Hitler stoutly maintained!) *The New America*, Frank Pitcairn's *Reporter and Fighter in the Spanish Civil War*, Liddell Hart's *The Defense of Britain* (although the Wehrmacht owed not a little of its early success to his theory of defensive war and the impregnability of the Maginot line!), Joseph Davies' *Mission to Moscow*, Henry Cassidy's *Moscow Dateline*, John Scott's *Behind the Urals*, "Sources of strength of the Soviet Union" (which presumably all good Burghers would be happier not knowing about!) printed in Stockholm by Fischer in 1944, Agnes Smedley's two books on embattled China, both London and Moscow editions specified. Presumably Germans could not profit by Fritz Kreisler's indignant *Who Murdered Dollfuss?* And a mere foreword by Stanley Baldwin could apparently be enough to condemn Mary Webb's Shropshire novel, *Precious Bane*, Zurich, 1944.

Likewise Ernest Barker's *Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire* was interdicted; indeed, any books calculated to show the stamina of the English antagonist upon whose destruction Germany's immediate attention was focused were poison. So Jan Struther's picture of British stoicism in *Mrs. Miniver* (and of the evacuation from Dunkirk). So John Moore's *Wits End*, and so Somerset Maugham's presentation of the Henderson family in Graveney Holt, Sussex, blundering yet heroic, and the escape of their son Roger from Dunkirk. (Maugham was connected with the English Secret Service in World War I, and his *Ashenden, or the British Agent* was required reading in the German Army.) *Of Human Bondage*, and *Ah King* were also "verboten." Dunkirk seems to have been a sensitive spot, for Warwick Deeping's *Seven Men Came Back* is also here listed—in addition to his *Sincerity* (reputed not a Nazi virtue), *Two Black Sheep*, and *The Woman at the Door*. Herbert Bates' war novel about the R.A.F. and the French Underground's technique of getting Allied fliers safely back home falls into this category, and Eric Knight's comic *Sam Small Flies Again*. C. S. Forester's *Nelson* was distasteful for obvious reasons; but so also was his *Captain from Connecticut*. Interestingly enough, Forester's sharply satiric *The General*, portraying ineptitude in high places, was made a "must" for the German staff. The only reason for the inclusion in this list of Nordhoff and Hall's

Strafkolonie Sidney (Botany Bay!) that suggests itself at the moment is a certain German sensitivity about concentration camps. The picture is otherwise unfavorable to Britain, although it could be considered favorable to the individual Anglo-Saxon ingenuity and resourcefulness.

Testifying that Goebbels' staff did not propose to overlook even the ephemeral, a sizable group consists of the "Kriminal Roman." A check of this group by the present writer, who is decidedly not an addict, with several of his friends who are, reveals what he has often suspected: that the "who-done-it" reader doesn't remember his current passion for more than a week. E. Phillips Oppenheim, being first of all Jewish, but writing often of international intrigue, is well up in the list. Dickson Carter's (J. D. Carr) ingenious story of escape from a Hungarian prison camp, *Death in Five Boxes*, is noted, and Leslie Ford's (Zenith Brown) *Road to Folly*. Agatha Christie is banned seven times. Others of lesser note appear. Though the common formula sees the constituted authorities baffled and the crime not infrequently solved by a rank outsider ("Private Eye," "Thin Man" or what-have-you), perhaps, in general to the race of supermen this sort of triviality was simply degenerate.

Some of the forbidden books prove a puzzle to the end; for instance, Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*. Is the prejudice racial, with the strange, dark, gypsylike Heathcliffe, picked up on the Liverpool streets (Anaryan?) triumphing over the Earnshaw family? Or is the translator Alfred Wolfenstein Jewish, as his name suggests? And what of Ben Ames Williams' *Strange Woman*, which the present writer has to admit having been able to wade no farther through than the waterfront brawl in lusty young Bangor's big house of ill fame? Could the German official public profession of moral rectitude (somewhat at variance with the practice) be sufficient to turn the Reich against Jenny Hager? And why Morley's *Kitty Foyle*? Nor does the character of the protagonist or the night riding ("Underground?") and burning of tobacco barns suggest a reason for excluding *Frau im Feuer* (Elizabeth Chevalier's *Drivin' Woman*). Perhaps these women just were not Hitler's type! A recent reading of J. P. Marquand's *Wickford Point* suggests no way in which the disintegration of a family dominated by the memory of an old fraud of a poet should prove poisoned fare, or what is wrong with *H. M. Pulham, Esquire*.

And why *David Copperfield*? A careful scanning reveals no more than memory had to offer.

But again, what profit seeking logic in minds where so little existed? Mr. J. Alvin Kugelmass in the *Times Book Section* for Sunday, July 16, states as a result of a survey in cooperation with the Universitäts-Bibliothek of the University of Frankfurt that of the total number of books banned (he works from an unspecified list of "3,225 banned titles," whereas the present complete bibliography contains in the neighborhood of 5,500, the last English title, by Wright, being No. 5,359) 42% have reappeared in the West Zone, only 1½% in the East. What has been the fate of the English and American titles specifically is not stated, although the discrepancy between the two zonal figures suggests that Western occupation forces have given their blessing to renewed circulation of a large part of the English-language works.

NOTES

1. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. E. P. Norris and Dr. E. C. Bolles in the preparation of this article.
2. *Areopagitica*, Bohn Library Edition, v. II, p. 55.
3. Quoted by Wallace Deuel, "The Nazi Crusade Against Intelligence," *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, Jan. 24, 1943, p. 3.
4. *Op. cit.* III, XLIII & XLIV.
5. *Op. cit.* IV, LXXXIV.
6. *Op. cit.* I, LXXI.
7. *Op. cit.* I, XLII.
8. Riverside Edition, Boston, 1892, p. 205.
9. *Oxford Companion to American Literature*, New York, 1941, p. 670.
10. *Prose Works*, Oxford, 1941, v. VII, p. 108.

Thomas D'Urfey's "Love for Money"

A Bibliographical Study

DONALD W. SANVILLE

THOMAS D'URFEY'S play *Love for Money*, printed in 1691, provides several vexing problems in recording the history of publication, for there are many variant copies of the play. I shall attempt to describe the correct sequence of editions and states of the 1691 printings, as well as the history of later editions of *Love for Money* in 1696, 1724, and 1726. There is some evidence that helps to establish the publication date of the play. D'Urfey entered a complaint in the Court of Common Pleas against his publisher, Abel Roper, for his failure to pay the full £20 agreed upon for the play; and this complaint contains the information that the manuscript was delivered to Abel Roper on March 26, 1691.¹ Although the disposition of the case has not been found among the papers of the Public Record Office, from this date we know that the play was published shortly after March 26, 1691.

The bibliographical descriptions that follow have been condensed as much as possible in the interest of clarity, and it was considered best to include all the information at the outset so that easy reference can be made where necessary in the later presentation of evidence.

Q1: LOVE/FOR/MONEY:/OR, THE/Boarding School./A/COM-
EDY./[rule]/Written by Mr. DURFEY./[rule]/[ornament]/[two
rules]/LONDON:/Printed for Abel Roper at the *Mitre* in *Fleet-
street*, and are to/be sold by Randal Taylor near *Stationers-Hall*.
1691.

Dedication: To the Right Honourable/Charles Lord Lansdown,/A Count of the most Sacred *Roman Empire*,/Lord Lieutenant of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and/Governour of *Plymouth*, &c.

Collation: Quarto. 66 p. A⁴, π¹, B-I⁴, K¹.

Contents: A1r, title-page; A1v, blank; A2r-A3r, dedication; A3v-A4v, preface; π1r, *dramatis personae*; π1v, prologue; B-K1r,

¹ Public Record Office 459, *Common Plea Rolls* (C1 40), No. 3102 m 541.

text; K1v, epilogue. Brackets, pp. 1–16, 65–66; parentheses, pp. 17–64.²

Census: Folger, Chicago.

Q1a: Title-page as in Q1.

Dedication: To the Right Honourable/Charles Lord Viscount Lansdown,/Count of the Sacred *Roman Empire*, Baron *Glanvile of Kilk-/hampton*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon* and/*Cornwall*, and Governour of the Royal *Cittadel* and Town/of *Plymouth*.

Collation: Quarto. 66 p. A⁴, π¹, B-I⁴, K¹.

Contents as in Q1.

Census: Huntington (Hoe), Cambridge, British Museum, Bodleian (prologue follows K1 and is conjugate with it).

Q1b: LOVE/FOR/MONEY:/OR, THE/Boarding School./A/COM-EDY./As it is acted at/**The Theatre Royal**./[rule]/Written by Mr. *DURFEY*./[rule]/LONDON:/Printed for *Abel Roper* at the *Mitre* in *Fleetstreet*, and are to/be sold by *Randal Taylor* near *Stationers-Hall*. 1691.

Dedication as in Q1a.

Collation: Quarto. 66 p. A⁴, π¹, B-I⁴, K¹.

Contents as in Q1.

Census: Newberry, Pforzheimer, Bodleian, Victoria & Albert, Worcester, Yale.

Q1c: LOVE/FOR/MONEY:/OR, THE/Boarding School./A/COM-EDY./As it is Acted at/**The Theatre Royal**./[rule]/Written by Mr. *DURFEY*./[rule]/LONDON:/Printed for *Abel Roper* at the *Mitre* in *Fleetstreet*, and are to/be sold by *Randal Taylor* near *Stationers-Hall*. 1691.

Dedication as in Q1a.

Collation: Quarto. 66 p. A⁴, π¹, B-I⁴, K¹.

Contents as in Q1.

Census: Folger, Folger (Genest), Columbia, LC, Clark, Harvard (imperfect, lacks K1), Cyrus L. Day, Yale (title-page missing), Pennsylvania.

Q2: LOVE/FOR/MONEY:/OR, THE/Boarding School./A/COM-EDY./As it is Acted at/**The Theatre Royal**./[rule]/Written by Mr. *DURFEY*./[rule]/LONDON:/Printed for *Abel Roper* at the

² This use of brackets to enclose the page numbers on pp. 1–16 and 65–66 and of parentheses on pp. 17–64, together with slight variations in the width of the measure, suggests that three compositors worked on the book.

Mitre in *Fleetstreet*, and are to/be sold by *Randal Taylor* near *Statitiners-Hall*. 1691.

Dedication: To the Right Honourable./Charles Lord Viscount Lansdown,/Count of the Sacred *Roman Empire*, Baron *Glanvile* of *Kilk-/hampton*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon* and/*Cornwall*, and Governour of the Royal *Cittadel* and Town/of *Plymouth*.

Collation: Quarto. 56 p. A-H⁴.

Contents: A1r, title-page; A1v, *dramatis personae*; A2r & v, dedication; A3r & v, preface; A4r, prologue; A4v, epilogue; B-H4, text; Parentheses, pp. 1–56.

Census: Pennsylvania, British Museum.

Q2a: LOVE/FOR/MONEY:/OR, THE/Boarding School./A/COM-
EDY./As it is Acted at/**The Theatre Royal**./[rule]/Written by
Mr. *DURFEY*./[rule]/LONDON:/Printed for *J. Hindmarsh* at
the *Golden-Ball* against the *Royal-/Exchange*, *Abel Roper* at the *Mitre*
in *Fleetstreet*, and are/to be sold by *Randal Taylor* near *Stationers-Hall*. 1691.

Dedication as in Q2.

Collation: Quarto. 56 p. A-H⁴.

Contents as in Q2.

Census: Harvard, Michigan, Huntington (Huth), Folger, National Library of Scotland (badly cropped, some signatures gone), Ohio State, Princeton, Yale.

At present some bibliographical confusion exists about the variant printings of *Love for Money*. In Wing's listing of the play, he has reversed the order of editions above, recording Q2 as the first edition and Q1 as the second. Woodward and McManaway, who have produced to date the most complete bibliography of D'Urfey's plays, describe Q2a as another edition instead of a variant state of Q2. Forsythe, who has described only the title-pages of D'Urfey's plays with admitted inconsistency in choice of editions, has of course contributed nothing to a comprehensive bibliographical knowledge of *Love for Money*. Finally, no collation exists of the preliminaries for the purpose of establishing the order of precedence in editions and states.

The determination of the sequence of editions is not as difficult as that of the sequence of variants within editions. That Q2 is subsequent to Q1 is suggested by the normal collation of the

former as compared with the erratic make-up of the latter. This inference is supported by several pieces of evidence in the texts themselves.

In the first place, an inspection of Q1 and Q2 side by side suggests at once that the material has been squeezed to fit the reduced compass of Q2. In the preliminaries, the dedication and the preface are both scaled down from three pages to two and the blank page on the verso of the title in Q1 is used for the *dramatis personae*. The most drastic compression is found in the epilogue. In Q2 this is transferred from the end of the play to the last page of the preliminary gathering, which would otherwise have been blank. But one page was scarcely room enough, and the compositor was put to the desperate shift of setting six couplets of verse as single lines of type. For example, the following passage in Q1 (p. 66)

*This is a Trick, and done, or I'm a chouse,
To get a greater pension from the House;
I therefore, on the Author's part appear
To beg excuse for th' Entertainment here:
And now I from my Wife some time can borrow,
I'll swinge her—but I'll make her play't to
morrow.*

is reduced to four lines by this stratagem. Here and there throughout, the compositor saved a line when he could. For example, in Q1 at p. 24 Semibrief sings a trill which is expressed thus: "au ha au ha au ha au." In Q2, after setting up "au ha au ha au" (p. 20), the compositor reached the end of his line and omitted the remainder rather than devote another line to the mere prolongation of this cadenza. In the fourth and fifth acts, leads above and below stage-directions are generally dispensed with.

It is improbable that, after the play had been set up as compactly as it was in Q2, the extended and irregular make-up of Q1, including a blank page on the verso of the title and a single unsigned leaf after the first gathering, should have been substituted; all this evidence points to the priority of Q1.

In addition, two bits of corroborative evidence may be mentioned. On p. 16 Q2 omits a whole speech (by Amorous) which

is found in Q1 (pp. 18–19) and thus prints successively two distinct speeches by Old Merriton. By itself this difference would not prove the priority of Q1, but when the hypothesis of its priority has been set up on other grounds it is readily explained as an inadvertent omission. For the opposite assumption, that this speech was accidentally omitted in the first setting up of the text and supplied by editorial vigilance in the second, there is no support elsewhere. At the end of the first scene of the fifth act in Q1 the following stage-directions occur:

[*Exit.*]

[A Room with Table and Bottles.]

SCENE II.

In Q2 (p. 46) they are rearranged as follows:

[*Exit.*]

SCENE II. *[A Room with Table and Bottles.]*

The latter is the more explicit arrangement from the reader's point of view: the table and bottles are needed in the second scene, not the first. It is easy to understand the compositor's making the change from the Q1 form to the Q2 form, which besides saves a line; it is impossible to conjure up an explanation for substituting the Q1 form for the Q2. From the evidence of these variants, then, the conclusion may be drawn that Q2 was derived from Q1.

Within the first edition there are three variants in the title-page: (1) ornament, (2) ornament replaced by "As it is acted," (3) "As it is Acted." In the dedication (A2r-A3r), however, there are only two variants: (1) "To the Right Honourable/Charles Lord Lansdown," &c., (2) "To the Right Honourable/Charles Lord Viscount Lansdown," &c., the first variant appearing in only two of the copies located. The four different states of the edition combine these variants in different ways. There is no evidence to show that the title-page is a cancel in any copy examined. Since no major alterations were made in the text (and if they had been the publisher would very likely have called attention to them on the title-page in order to stimulate sale), the

inference may be drawn with certainty that the first edition exists only in variant states, not in issues.

Q1 would appear to be an earlier state than Q1a, Q1b, and Q1c because of the presence of the ornament and the short version of the dedication. The latter is certainly prior to the longer version; one can easily imagine reasons for setting forth Lord Lansdown's titles with greater amplitude, none whatever for denying him some of them once they had been given him. That "As it is acted," etc., was substituted for the ornament on the title-page is less certain, but probable enough. While it is difficult to believe that, once the statement about the acting of the play had been set up and printed, a good reason for removing it could arise, it is not easy to imagine why it was not included in the title-page from the start. These considerations suggest the priority of Q1 to Q1a, which has the ornament on the title-page and the longer version of the dedication, and of Q1a to Q1b, which has the statement about the acting of the play and the longer dedication. The priority of Q1b to Q1c, which differs from it only in printing a capital letter in "Acted," is much less certain. Only the fact that the letter is also capitalized in Q2 suggests that this form was regarded as more decorous and is therefore later. This sequence of variant states is of course based on the title-page and the dedication only. No account is taken of stop-press corrections in the text of the play proper because I have not collated all twenty of the copies listed above. The indiscriminate binding of corrected and uncorrected forms precludes uniformity in all the copies with identical title-pages and dedications.

The second edition appears in two states, the typography of Q2 and Q2a being identical except for the correction of "Stationers" and the addition of "J. Hindmarsh at the *Golden-Ball* against the *Royal-/Exchange*" to the imprint. The title-page of Q2a, being a stop-press alteration, cannot be another issue. Of the copies located, only two contain the Q2 variant of the title-page, while eight contain the correction found in Q2a. Although other press variants may exist in copies not yet examined, from the evidence of the known copies, the logical conclusion is that Q2a is the result of an early stop-press alteration made for the purpose of correcting the typographical error on the title-page at

the same time that the imprint was revised to signify alternative publishing arrangements.

The third edition of 1696 is a page-for-page reprint of the second edition with some typographical errors but no major changes. Proof that it was set up from the text of the second edition is to be found in the catchwords on pages 16–20 in both editions. These run as follows:

	1691 (Q2)	1696 (Q3)
p. 16	as	as
17	once,	<i>Tear.</i>
18	Quality	<i>Le Prate</i>
19	<i>Nicom.</i>	<i>Nicom.</i>
20	<i>Bear</i>	<i>Bear</i>

The compositor of Q3, working from the text of Q2, on pages 16 and 17 inadvertently set up more lines to the page than the compositor of Q2 and thus was forced to use different catchwords. After discovering his mistake, by printing fewer lines he was able to get back to the Q2 format and then followed closely the Q2 text from page 19 to the end.

The following is a brief description of the 1696 edition, the last published in D'Urfey's lifetime:

LOVE/FOR/MONEY:/OR, THE/Boarding School./A/COM-
EDY./As it is Acted at/**The Theatre Royal.** /[rule]/Written by
Mr. *DURFEY.* /[rule]/*LONDON:* /Printed for *A. Roper*, and *E. Wilkinson*, at the *Black-Boy*, at the *Golden-Ball* against/the *Royal-Exchange*. 1696.

Collation: Quarto. 56 p. A-H⁴.

Copies examined: Folger, LC.

The 1724 and 1726 editions are substantially the same as the earlier ones. Individual words have occasionally been changed to provide “improved” readings, but no additions or deletions of any importance have been made. The spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been changed throughout to conform to the standards of the eighteenth century.

The Library's Dreiser Collection

ROBERT H. ELIAS

THE continuing controversy over the artistic merits of the work of Theodore Dreiser is possibly sufficient evidence that Dreiser's importance as an American writer has become itself a fact beyond controversy. The man whose *Sister Carrie* in 1900 ushered in the literature of twentieth-century America and whose *An American Tragedy* in 1925 contributed a popular phrase to our language is now a figure in the history of our culture. Growing up late in the nineteenth century under circumstances that made him receptive to post-Darwinian philosophy, Dreiser brought into our fiction a religious regard for nature and its processes that challenged the then complacent notion that man's will is invincible in all its enterprises and that provided later writers with the inspiration to portray life more faithfully and more somberly, though no less affirmatively, than most nineteenth-century American authors had felt themselves at liberty to do. A member of no clique or coterie or "school," a leader without mere disciples for followers, he usually struggled alone; yet he faced the problems that characterize the life of the society of his time, 1871-1945, whether that meant the problem of the proper limits of fiction, the issues of justice in a free society, or the question of man's position in the universe. An insight into the career of the American people may be provided by an understanding of Theodore Dreiser's career.

Most scholars in American literature now know that the materials for such an understanding are in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Since the spring of 1942, when Dreiser shipped his first boxes of correspondence eastward from his home in Hollywood, the Library staff and graduate students in American Civilization have been arranging and cataloguing a collection of Dreiser's books and papers so extensive that the letters and manuscripts alone must by now easily number twenty or thirty thousand items. Letters to Dreiser, letters or copies of letters from Dreiser, publishers' contracts, royalty statements, and legal documents constitute the bulk of the collection. But in addition there

are the original manuscripts of almost all the major stories, novels, essays, poems, the uncompleted and unpublished as well as the completed and published—the latter accompanied by notes, typescripts, and the usual proofs; there are clippings from newspapers and magazines—too many ever to count—of articles, speeches, and interviews by and about Dreiser; and there are shelves of first editions, foreign editions, and translations of Dreiser's works, together with books presented to Dreiser by fellow authors. The collection may not be entirely unique in character, but it is certainly both a remarkably concentrated and a remarkably comprehensive assemblage of source materials for the study of a single writer—additionally remarkable in that the writer was a contemporary who made it possible for his own time to begin to study him before he died.

The value of most of the items is evident enough not to require explanations. Besides the bibliographical interest that the books satisfy, there is the evidence they help provide of Dreiser's popularity and reputation both here and abroad. When the news stories and critical notices are included in the account, we have material for a chapter in the history of American taste. The manuscripts, of course, are invaluable to biographers and critics alike for what they reveal of Dreiser's intellectual development and artistic growth. The various drafts of *The Bulwark*, begun before World War I in the days of *The "Genius"* and the novels about Charles T. Yerkes, and not finished until 1945, are, for example, indispensable in tracing Dreiser's progress from objective determinist through active social reformer to reverent, mystical believer in an ordered universe. And the letters, with the many complex relationships that correspondence implies, place before us Dreiser in terms of both his personal and his public problems. Whether one wishes to examine the correspondence with Frank Doubleday and Frank Norris to understand the publisher's "suppression" of *Sister Carrie* in 1900, or follow the years of exchanges with H. L. Mencken to define the critical challenge of literary naturalism in the first quarter of the century, or read the numerous letters to and from leftist organizations or committees in the '30's to see how a sensitive hater of injustice could become involved in communism, the boxes and filing cabinets offer re-

warding treasure. Sherwood Anderson and Edgar Lee Masters; Floyd Dell and Arthur Davison Ficke; George Jean Nathan, H. G. Wells, and James T. Farrell; Earl Browder, John L. Lewis, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—they are all there. Even if one wishes answers only to why Dreiser slapped Sinclair Lewis, or what led to his throwing a cup of coffee in Horace Liveright's face, or how toothpicks were used to indict Dreiser for adultery in the Kentucky coal fields, the correspondence is important—important to anyone concerned with the literary life of the times or with the radical political currents that have swept up many contemporary writers.

Why did Dreiser give his papers to the University of Pennsylvania? He had come to know the University as a place where vigorous work in American literature was encouraged, where he was already being studied disinterestedly, where free inquiry was hampered by no religious or political dogma—where, in short, the spirit of Benjamin Franklin was alive. When Professor Sculley Bradley and I described those conditions to Dreiser, he, wishing both to keep his literary estate intact after he died and to assure an honest critical accounting, gave the collection to the Library.

Since Dreiser's death the collection has been added to, occasionally by purchase but usually by gifts from generous friends of the Library or of Dreiser's, and plans are now complete for making available by publication some of the more significant items in the collection, beginning with the correspondence. To be sure, use has already been made of the files. I had access to almost everything when writing my own biographical study a few years ago, and the late Professor F. O. Matthiessen also consulted them when working on his volume forthcoming in the *American Men of Letters* series. Graduate students, too, have benefitted. Plans to publish the correspondence, however, will make more generally available what is at present within the physical reach of too few, and then the value that must be accepted only through the words of interpreters or accounts such as this one will be disclosed in its proper form.

In Memoriam

Randolph G. Adams, 1892–1951

Randolph G. Adams, distinguished Director of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, author, bibliographer, and educator, alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography, Friend of the University of Pennsylvania Library, and friend of libraries and bookmen throughout the world.

Charolus Valgulius' Latin Version of Arrian's "Anabasis"

LLOYD W. DALY

THE devotion of the Renaissance humanists of Italy to the treasures of Greek literature often expressed itself in the preparation of Latin translations which would make the authors who had come into their hands available to the very considerable educated reading public of the day. As a result it sometimes happened that the works of a Greek author appeared in print in a Latin version some time before the *editio princeps* in the original language. So it was that the works of the historian Appian appeared in Latin in 1472, while the Greek was not printed until 1551; a Latin version of the works of the philosopher Sextus Empiricus was printed at Paris in 1562, and another was published at Antwerp in 1569 before the Greek text found a printer at Geneva in 1621. The same was the case with the *Anabasis* of Arrian, our most important source for the life of Alexander the Great. The *editio princeps* of this work is that of Trincavelli, printed at Venice in 1535.¹ The *Anabasis* had, however, already been translated into Latin by Bartholomeo Facio, and the translation had been printed at Pesaro in 1508.² Another Latin version by Charolus Valgulius appeared in an edition which is now extremely rare and, while it bears no date, was regarded by Harless as the earliest printed version.³

The University of Pennsylvania Library has recently acquired a copy of this translation by Valgulius.⁴ Very few other copies are known to exist. J. Morelli, in listing a copy at Venice, commented: "*Liber est inventu perquam difficilis.*"⁵ Another copy, in the National Library at Naples, is described by Reichling,⁶ a third belongs to the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome⁷ and a fourth is listed for the Huntington Library.⁸ The Pennsylvania copy corresponds in all details to that at Naples as described by Reichling, with the exception that it has two additional leaves bound in at the end. These leaves are on a different paper but in the same type as the rest of the volume and were apparently added by the printer only after some copies had already been sold. The recto of the

first of these leaves carries a letter from the translator to the publisher.

Charolus Valgulius Antonio Moreto salute[m].

Antoni Morete salute. Tandem ultimum quint. Arriani a famulo tuo habui./sed postq[uam] uenales proscripti libros uelut absolutos: Accipe infrascriptos/errores p[ro]ponendos aliquos praetermissi:quia si quis eos suopte ingenio no[n] est/intellecturus nec recte scripta intelliget nec dignus erit qui librum legat./Tu melius eos dispones. Vale. Brixiae.xi.Aprilis.

The letter is followed by a list of errata which is continued onto the verso. On the recto of the second added leaf is printed the following letter from Ianus Parrhasius to the publisher:

Ianus Parrhasius Antonio Moreto Salute[m]. Audio mi Morete ex officina tua/exisse Arrhianum.Si ita est:libet affirmare excultum tersumq[ue] esse & te di-/gnum.Noui ingenium elegantiamq[ue] in auctorum delectu tuam.nihil in pu-/blicum das: nisi ad amussim factum. Quare miro quodam desiderio quom/teneat operis inspiciendi: abs te peto: ut huic ad me des unu[m]. Ipse tibi quod-/cu[m]q[ue] pretium dixeris:a me numerabit. Ego uero:siquid est hic quod efficere/ pro tuo tuoru[m]q[ue] com[m]odo possim:pollicor operam mea[m] qua[n]tula[m]cu[m]q[ue]. Vale./Veicetie.XV.Kalendas Maii.

Beneath this letter follows a collation of the gatherings (a-n, aa-bb, A) with no indication of the additional leaves. The verso of the second leaf bears a dedication.

ARRIANI HISTO RICI AC PHILOSOPHI CLARISSIMI LIBRI OCTO DE RE BVS GESTIS ALEXANDRI MACEDONIS E GRAECO IN LATINVM SERMONEM A CHAROLO VALGVLIO NO, VISSIME TRADVCTI:AD BARTHOLOMEVM LIVIANVM BVCLANI DVCEM FELICISSIMI EXERCITVS VENETO; RVM GVBERNATOREM GENERALEM.

According to information received from the Huntington Library the copy there contains this added material, as does also the copy in Rome.

On typographical grounds (Roman type, 20 lines = 120 mm.) the book has been assigned to Bernardinus de Vitalibus as

printer and dated variously: *c.* 1495 (Reichling), *c.* 1503 or later (*Gesamtkatalog*), after 1500 (*Indice generale*). Miss Moricca-Caputo emphasizes the uncertainty of typography alone as a criterion for dating and argues that the evidence from this source would allow a date anywhere between the last years of the 15th and the first years of the 16th century.⁹ In reply to these observations, however, Miss Guarnaschelli has pointed out that the career of Bartholomeo Liviano, to whom the book is dedicated, must be taken into consideration and insists on a date after 1505.¹⁰ In spite of their differences of opinion both insist on the importance of the added leaves, and rightly so, for they can be made to tell a good deal about the book and about the date and circumstances of its publication.

Charolus Valgulius appears to have been born at Brescia about the middle of the 15th century. Relatively little is known of his career, but that it was one of some distinction is clear from the fact that he was associated with the Florentine circle of Angelo Poliziano and Marsilio Ficino and was secretary to Cesare Borgia for some time after 1493.¹¹ He was active as a translator and translated, among other things, some of Plutarch's *Moralia* from manuscript before the first edition. His Latin translation of one of these essays, the *De Musica*, was printed by Angelus Britannicus at Brescia in 1507, and in the introduction to this volume Valgulius stated that he had also translated Arrian's *Anabasis*.¹² This statement might suggest that Valgulius' translation was earlier than that of Facio but does not necessarily mean that it had already been printed by 1507, and other evidence indicates that it had not.

The letter of Parrhasius gives some basis for dating. It was written from Vicenza after the Arrian had been printed. Parrhasius was a wandering humanist who left Milan about 1506 and was at Vicenza until 1511.¹³ The book must, then, have appeared some time before 1511.

The dedication as cited above from the added leaves agrees with the indication of Parrhasius' letter and narrows the limits of the period within which the book could have been printed. It is made to *Bartholomeus Livianus, Dux Buclani, felicissimi exercitus Venetorum Gubernator Generalis*. This personage is better known as

Bartolomeo d'Alviano. He was one of the great condottieri and had shared in the victory of the battle on the Garigliano in 1502. In 1505 he returned to the service of Venice under the elderly Niccolo Orsini, Conte di Pitigliano. He enjoyed great success in his command in 1508, and on the 23rd of February signally defeated the forces of the Emperor Maximilian. A year later, however, he met the army of Louis XII at Agnadello de Ghiaradadda where, as a result of disagreement with di Pitigliano, he was defeated (14 May 1509) with a resultant loss to Venice of much continental territory. D'Alviano himself was captured in the battle and taken as a prisoner to France, whence he did not return until 1513.¹⁴

The sequence of events in this career is important, and Miss Guaranschelli makes the dating of the book depend upon it. She states that d'Alviano was appointed *condottiero generale delle forze della Serenissima* in 1505.¹⁵ He does not, however, seem to have achieved any such exalted position at this time. Cardinal Bembo, a contemporary of these events, in his "History of Venice," says that in 1505 d'Alviano was simply given the *maggioranza della cavalleria* by the Senate.¹⁶ It was as a result of his successes in 1508 that he won great public acclaim and official recognition.¹⁷ This recognition took the form of elevation to the Venetian nobility, the donation of the village of Pordenone in fief to him and his male descendants,¹⁸ and advancement to the rank of Governor General of the Venetian Army. These honors he received from the hands of the Doge Loredano on the 13th of July in 1508 as described in the diary of Leonardo Amaseo of Udine.¹⁹

The dedication of the additional leaves, with its reference to d'Alviano as Governor General, could not, then, have been written before the 13th of July 1508. The original publication of the book would be somewhat earlier. The original dedication at the end of Valgulius' proœmium (F. 86^r) refers to d'Alviano simply as *artis militaris peritissimo et consilio atque virtute praestantissimo* and would therefore seem to have been written before July 1508. The letters of Valgulius and Parrhasius, which would appear from their contents to have been written within a month or so after the original publication of the book, are both dated in the month of April, and this must surely be April of 1508.

On this basis we can reconstruct with considerable confidence the sequence of events in the publication of the volume. Valgulius had already done his translation of Arrian at the time of the publication of his translation of Plutarch's *De Musica* in 1507. He soon turned it over to the publisher with a dedication to Bartolomeo Liviano. By April of 1508 he had received the last gathering from Moreto. After the book had actually gone on sale, he wrote Moreto and sent him a list of misprints. About the same time that this letter was received by Moreto an order for a copy of the Arrian came from the distinguished Parrhasius in Vicenza. By July, Liviano had become the man of the hour and it seemed desirable to take cognizance of his fresh kudos in a renewed dedication. Accordingly an additional folio was printed up with Valgulius' letter and list of errata on the first leaf and the highly complimentary letter of Parrhasius as an advertisement on the recto of the second. The new dedication was then prominently displayed on the verso of the second leaf and the whole tipped in to the remaining copies.

The role of Antonio Moreto of Brescia in the publication of the book has been clarified by the remarks of Miss Moricca-Caputo. As she points out, he is known from the prefaces of several 15th century books as a publisher.²⁰ In this capacity he made use of several different presses located variously at Venice, Milan and Rome.

As for the translation itself, it is of no independent value as a witness to the manuscript tradition of Arrian's *Anabasis*. The Greek text of the *Anabasis* is based on a large number of manuscripts, all of which have as their archetype the 12th or 13th century *codex Vindobonensis hist. 4*. This manuscript had lost one folio at a point in the text following *Anabasis 7,12,7*.²¹ All the apographs, of course, show this lacuna and so does Valgulius' translation, proving that the Greek manuscript with which he worked was also a descendant of the Vienna archetype.

One may say, then, that while this Arrian is not strictly speaking a first edition, it is a considerably more unusual thing, a pre-first edition translation. It is at least as early as the translation by Facio and may, since it was first published before April, have been actually earlier and so the first appearance of Arrian's *Anabasis* in print.

NOTES

1. F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts*, Oxford, 1913, p. 213.
2. T. de Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, Milan, 1947, v. II:18.
3. J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca*, (3rd ed. by Harless), Hamburg, 1790–1830, v. V:95.
4. I am indebted to the University of Pennsylvania Library for the opportunity to study this rare book.
5. *Bibliotheca Mapphaei Pinelli Veneti*, Venice, 1787, v. II:31.
6. *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium*, Munich, 1905–11, v. II:11, no. 406; cf. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig, 1925–, II:705.
7. Inc. 274. Described in detail by A. Moricca-Caputo in *Studi di bibliografia e di argomento romano in memoria di Luigi de Gregori*, Rome, 1949, p. 307f.
8. H. R. Mead, *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, San Marino, Calif., 1937, p. 138, no. 3287.
9. *Loc. cit.*, note 7.
10. T. M. Guarnaschelli in *Bibliofilia*, LI:94 (1949).
11. Cf. B. Keil in *Verh. d. 47. Versamml. deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Halle*, 1903, p. 34f. This is a brief abstract of a paper which was never published in fuller form with documentation.
12. Blondeau, in *Biographie universelle*, XLII:479; Blondeau was not aware that the Arrian had ever been printed.
13. F. Ghisalberti in *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXVI:402–3.
14. R. Cessi in *Enciclopedia italiana*, II:736–7.
15. *Loc. cit.*, note 10.
16. *Opere del Cardinale Pietro Bembo*, Milan, 1808–10, v. IV:10.
17. *Id.*, v. IV:30.
18. Here at Pordenone he founded an Academy to which he attracted such outstanding scholars as Andreas Navagero and Girolamo Fracastoro; cf. P. Daru, *Histoire de la République de Venise*, Paris, 1819, III:339.
19. “Diarii udinesi dall’ anno 1508 al 1541,” *Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria*, XI:58 (1884–5): “1508, adi 17 luio, die lunae. Io intese del magnifico miser Zuane Savorgniano com lo Signor Bartolomio Liviano era stato fato zintil homo vinitiano zobia, che fo adi 13 lujo 1508, et gli era stato donato lo

standardo et lo bastone de gubernator zeneral et lo privilegio de Porto Naone, et gli era stato data la spada nuda in mano in segnio che lo potese far justitia et avese lo mero et misto imperio; se crede solo a si et li mascoli soy desendenti.”

20. *Loc. cit.*, note 7. To her references might be added K. Burger, who in his Index of the *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium*, London, 1902, p. 430, lists an Antonius Morettus as contributing to the expense of publication of the works of Guainerius under date of 27 May 1500.
21. Cf. *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, ed. A. G. Roos, Leipzig, 1907, p. VIII ff.

Horace Wemyss Smith's Recollections of Poe

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

THE circumstances surrounding Poe's break with William E. Burton and the *Gentleman's Magazine* at the end of May 1840 have been surrounded by controversy. In addition to the inability of Poe and Burton to get along personally, the former's preoccupation with the idea of a periodical of his own, and the latter's with a new theatrical venture, Poe accused Burton of dishonestly advertising prizes which he never intended to pay, and Burton spread scandalous rumors of Poe's irresponsibility and drunkenness.¹ Although frequently balanced with evidence to the contrary, Burton's explanation of the affair was printed by most of Poe's biographers.

In 1855 Griswold, no friend of Poe, told the story as follows:

"On one occasion, returning after the regular day of publication, he [Burton] found the number unfinished, and Poe incapable of duty. . . . Two or three months afterwards Burton went out of town to fulfil a professional engagement, leaving material and directions for completing the next number of the magazine in four days. He was absent nearly a fortnight, and on returning he found his printers in the meantime had not received a line of copy."²

The upshot was, according to this version, that Burton summarily dismissed Poe, writing the now lost letter of May 30, 1840³ in which he presumably recounted Poe's past deficiencies. In 1885 Woodberry did not mention this particular incident,⁴ but in 1909 he gave an account similar to Griswold's, attributing it to "Mr. Rosenbach, a companion of Poe,"⁵ and citing as his source an article in *The American* of February 26, 1887. This was picked up, apparently from Woodberry, by Mary E. Phillips, who said that "Burton's side of this trouble is told by a Mr. Rosenbach—also known to Poe;"⁶ and also by Hervey Allen, who quoted a first person account purporting to have been written by Rosenbach's son.⁷ More recently Professor Quinn, having proved that Griswold misdated and partially forged a letter from Burton to

Poe to show that neglect had been habitual with Poe, believed that he found another canard in the Rosenbach story. "The story of Mr. Rosenbach concerning Poe's neglect of his duties and consequent discharge is also apocryphal," he wrote, adding in a note references to *The American*, Woodberry, and Allen, and closing, "I am authorized by Dr. Abram [sic] S. W. Rosenbach, to state that this account is without foundation."⁸

That would seem to have ended the support given to Burton and Griswold's version by Rosenbach, for Dr. Rosenbach was quite correct in denying that anyone of that name had been a friend of Poe. However, the discovery among some Rosenbach family papers of the notes upon which the account printed in *The American* was based and direct reference to that article throw a new light upon the statement. The notes were written by Dr. Rosenbach's oldest brother, Hyman Polock Rosenbach, who after having spent some time in the book-business of his maternal uncle, Moses Polock, was in 1887 a free-lance journalist.⁹ He was later on the staff of the *Public Ledger*, and died in 1892 at the age of thirty-three. The surprising fact, which escaped the previous authorities, is that, while the article is signed by Hyman Rosenbach, it is stated clearly and unequivocally that the account of Poe was related to him by Horace Wemyss Smith, the son of Richard Penn Smith:

REMINISCENCES OF EDGAR A. POE^{10*}

In *The American* for September 11, 1886, in an article on "Tom Moore's Cottage," I quoted Mr. Horace Wemyss Smith as speaking of a supper party at the house of his father, Richard Penn Smith, about 1837, the entertainment being given by the latter to Edgar A. Poe, "who had been introduced into Philadelphia society by the well-known comedian, William E. Burton, who had lately employed him as assistant editor upon his magazine,—the *Gentleman's*, afterwards *Graham's*."¹¹ Mr. Smith has kindly communicated to me his reminiscences of Poe, which I here record.

"At this supper party were present Louis A. Godey, then owner and editor of *Godey's Magazine*, which had been started above five years previously; Robert M. Bird; Robert T. Conrad, editor of the *Daily*

* Capitalization, interpunctuation and italics follow the style of the original in *The American*.

Intelligencer; Joseph R. Chandler, editor of the *United States Gazette*; Joseph C. Neal; Morton McMichael, then an alderman in Spring Garden; Adam Waldie, publisher of *Waldie's Circulating Library*, and a few others. Owing to the engagements of Mr. Burton at the Chestnut Street Theatre, the supper was not placed upon the table until midnight at which time Mr. Burton, Mr. Wemyss, Mr. Wood and Mr. John R. Scott made their appearance. Edwin Forrest—who had but lately returned from England with his wife—was also present.

“My father’s house was on Sixth above Willow Street.¹² The guests who had first assembled were entertained on the first floor, where they awaited the coming of the theatrical people, before ascending to the dining-room on the second floor. When the time came to go up, Poe had so often visited the side-board placed in the lower room that it was with great difficulty he was assisted up stairs, and when he was seated was in no condition either to entertain or be entertained.

“When I returned from school in the following year I renewed my acquaintance with Poe and became his companion. I had been placed in the office of the Board of Education by my father, who was then its secretary, which situation threw me daily in contact with his friends, who were then the literary coterie of Philadelphia. My family at that time furnished me with all the money I required, and as I had not the restraint of living at home—being a boarder at the Washington House, on Chestnut street, then kept by a man named Hartwell—I was much about town, and frequently fell in with Poe, who seemed to cultivate my acquaintance. He was still in the employ of Burton, and as the latter was giving his attention, at that time, to the magazine, making his theatrical engagements only for Philadelphia and cities within very easy reach, Poe had much leisure time, which he spent for the most part in a drinking place on Dock below Pear Street.¹³ His companions were Henry B. Hirst, Andy Scott and myself. Our evenings were generally spent about the lobbies of the theatres, from whence we would adjourn to Parker’s restaurant or Davy Gibbs’s eating-saloon.¹⁴

“The break between Burton and Poe was caused in the following way: Burton had been called upon to play an engagement of two or three weeks duration in the Park Theatre, in New York, under Pratt and Simpson, and left directions for Poe to bring out the number of his magazine, which instruction Poe ignored or forgot. After the termination of Burton’s engagement he returned to Philadelphia on a Sunday,¹⁵ and on going to his office found that nothing had been done tending to the production of the magazine. Burton immediately sought my father at his house, and it was about midnight when he found him. He came in a carriage with a large bundle of manuscript, from which they made some selections. They worked until morning, when they sent me with copy to the printer, Charles Alexander, in Franklin Place, Chestnut Street. Alexander hunted up some extra compositors, and by dint of

hard work and hurried proof-reading the *Gentleman's Magazine* appeared as usual.¹⁶ Poe was discharged for his negligence.”¹⁷

I here interrupt Mr. Smith's narrative to give some other evidences of Poe's habits at this time. In a letter from him to Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, dated Philadelphia, April 1st, 1841: “You are a physician and I presume no physician can have difficulty in detecting the drunkard at a glance. You are moreover a literary man, well read in morals. You could never be brought to believe that I could write what I daily write as I write it were I as this villain [meaning Burton] would induce those who know me not to believe. In fine, I pledge you, before God, the solemn word of a gentleman that I am temperate even to rigor. From the hour in which I first saw this basest of calumniators to the hour in which I retired from his office in uncontrollable disgust at his chicanery, arrogance, ignorance and brutality, nothing *stronger than water ever passed my lips*. It is, however, due to candor that I inform you upon what foundation he has erected his slanders. At no period of my life was I ever what men call intemperate. I never was in the habit of intoxication. I never drank drams, etc. But for a period, while I resided in Richmond and edited the *Messenger*, I certainly did give way at long intervals to the temptation held out on all sides by the spirit of Southern conviviality. My sensitive temperament could not stand an excitement which was an every day matter to my companions. In short, it sometimes happened that I was completely intoxicated. For some days after each excess I was invariably confined to bed. But it is now quite four years since I have abandoned every kind of alcoholic drink—four years, with the exception of a single deviation, which occurred shortly after my leaving Burton, and when I was induced to resort to the occasional use of cider with the hope of relieving a nervous attack.”

To return to Mr. Smith's relation: “Poe was very fond of visiting my grandmother, Mrs. William Moore Smith, at her place at the Falls of Schuylkill. His favorite seat was in the doorway of the family mausoleum—since removed—where he read such books as Lewis' ‘Tales of Terror,’ Mary Wolstone Craft's ‘Frankenstein,’ and ‘Five Nights at Saint Albans,’ some of which works no doubt affected his mental constitution.¹⁸ After Poe left Burton, I went South and did not see him until 1843, when he already showed signs of his continued dissipation.¹⁹

“I read the ‘Raven’ long before it was published, and was in Mr. George R. Graham's office when the poem was offered to him. Poe said that his wife and Mrs. Clemm were starving, and that he was in very pressing need of the money. I carried him fifteen dollars, contributed by Mr. Graham, Mr. Godey, Mr. McMichael and others, who condemned the poem, but gave the money as a charity.²⁰ An hour afterwards he was found in a state of intoxication in Decatur street, where now is the alley running from the rear of Charles Joly's, No. 9 South Seventh Street, then occupied as a tavern and kept by a man named Dicky Harbut, an

Irish shoemaker. Shortly after this Poe left Philadelphia, and our communication was broken off."

In reference to the "Raven," I shall here quote from Mr. Woodberry: "In the *Evening Mirror*, January 29th, 1845, 'The Raven' was published, with a highly commendatory card from Willis, and a few days later *The American Whig Review*, for February, from the advance sheets of which this poem had been copied, was the centre of literary interest and the prey of editorial scissors throughout the length and breadth of the country. In the magazine the author was masked under the pseudonym of 'Quarles,' but in this journal he had been named as E. A. Poe." A footnote to this paragraph reads: "The author is indebted to an unpublished paper by Professor W. E. Griffis for the earliest mention of 'The Raven,' which, on evidence satisfactory to Professor Griffis, was in the course of composition in the summers of 1842 and 1843. The legend, however, involves the assertion that Poe, at the time of his greatest poverty in Philadelphia, was visiting a pleasure resort near Saratoga Springs. Of this, there is no documentary proof and in the author's opinion it is highly improbable; the story is therefore not included in the text."

In conclusion I will recount an anecdote on the origin of a very popular summer beverage, for which Mr. Smith is responsible. Mr. William E. Burton on a very hot and sweltering day came into this same Dicky Harbut's saloon and asked him to make him some kind of cooling draught. Harbut squeezed a lemon into a large glass, adding to it various other fruits, and was about pouring in ice-water, when Burton stopped him, telling him to use something stronger. Harbut then filled it with sherry. The next time Burton was in the place he called for a "Cobbler's Sherry," and from this has come the familiar "Sherry Cobbler."

HYMAN POLLOCK ROSENBACH

The truth of the story rests upon the veracity and accuracy of Horace W. Smith, who in 1887 was in his sixties and was recounting events which took place in his teens. Furthermore, Smith was a man described as "able but somewhat erratic," and in other works concerned with his family was inclined to exaggerate or overemphasize their achievements.²¹ It is possible that the close drinking companionship with Poe which he claimed was an understandable yarn-spinning, but, excluding his own participation, the events which he recounted might have had some basis of truth.

Richard Penn Smith, his father, was certainly a leader of the literary clique of Philadelphia in the 1830s and 40s.²² A grandson

of Dr. William Smith, the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, he had been admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1821, but his taste for letters proving stronger than his penchant for the law he soon entered the field of journalism. For a while he edited the once famous Jeffersonian *Aurora*, which under his management was merged with the *Franklin Gazette*, but in 1827 he sold the paper, and went back to the law, keeping on with his writing all the while. Between 1825 and 1835 he wrote twenty plays and was thereby brought into close contact with the great theatrical figures of the day. From 1837 to 1841 he served as Secretary of the Board of Education.²³ That he was friendly with Burton and Poe seems certain; that this connection resulted in his seeing all the manuscripts sent to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as Rosenbach's notes say,²⁴ is not supported by other evidence.

Horace Wemyss Smith was born on August 13, 1825,²⁵ and was the only surviving child of his father's first marriage. His mother died in 1833, and his father remarried in 1836. About that time, or shortly after, Horace was sent away to school at Nazareth Hall. A party during the Christmas holidays when he would have been home could well have taken place. We know very little about Poe's social life in Philadelphia,²⁶ but all his biographers have assumed that he was present at many of the dinners given by members of the literary and theatrical circle.

However, Poe did not come to Philadelphia until the summer of 1838,²⁷ so that Horace Smith made an error placing the party the year before. His confusion may have been caused by the fact that he remembered another big affair at which most of the same men were present and at which his father played a leading part, given on December 17, 1837 to celebrate Edwin Forrest's return from his triumphal tour abroad.²⁸ We know Horace was in town for the holidays in 1837, hence his statement that Forrest had but lately returned from England. But if the time be read as during the Christmas holidays in 1838, the circumstances fit, although it is not known that Poe had any definite agreement with Burton that early.²⁹ Forrest played at the American Theatre, which Wemyss managed, from December 3 to 10, 1838, and Burton was at the Chestnut Street from December 4th almost continually to the end of the month together with Wood.³⁰

Assuming that Horace Smith made a mistake in the first year, "the following year," when he returned from school, would have been the summer of 1839, and then Poe was working for Burton, having started on the *Gentleman's Magazine* in May 1839. It may seem strange that Richard Smith should have permitted his teen-age son to live alone at a hotel, but his first son by the second marriage was born in the spring of 1837, so that such an arrangement may have been more satisfactory. So young Horace, living at the Washington Hotel at 223 Chestnut Street³¹ and working at the Board of Education in the State House Buildings, would have been in a good position to observe life in the heart of the city.

All the places he named were within the radius of three blocks from Sixth and Chestnut Streets. The offices of the *Gentleman's Magazine* were at the corner of Bank Alley and Dock Street,³² not far from the corner of Third and Walnut. John Upton's was but a few steps along Dock Street.³³ Henry B. Hirst, then in the seed business with Henry A. Dreer, had a shop at 97 Chestnut Street,³⁴ and Andrew Scott by 1840 was co-publisher with Charles Alexander of the *Daily Chronicle* in the Athenian Buildings at the corner of Franklin Place and Chestnut, just west of Third.³⁵ Alexander was also the printer of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, so that Andy Scott, not elsewhere mentioned as a friend of Poe, unquestionably did know him.

A bit farther to the west was the Chestnut Street Theatre, between Sixth and Seventh, and the American was at the corner of Ninth and Walnut. Right near were Parker's oyster-house at the corner of Sixth and Carpenter³⁶ and Gibb's refectory in the Arcade off Chestnut.³⁷ If Poe had set out from Graham's office with fifteen dollars in his pocket, he would have been walking along what must have been a well-travelled route. When Graham took over the *Gentleman's Magazine* in December 1840, and began the new *Graham's Magazine* with Poe on the staff, he moved the offices to the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut.³⁸ Decatur Street, no more than an alley going from Market to Carpenter between Sixth and Seventh, contained seven taverns, including Harbord's Decatur Coffee House at No. 6.³⁹ The scene in which Horace Smith set his recollections is logical enough.

However, some of the details of the events leading up to the break between Burton and Poe cannot be corroborated, and others are demonstrably untrue. If we assume that Burton returned to Philadelphia at the latest on Saturday, May 30th, the day he wrote to Poe dismissing him, he would have begun his fortnight stand out-of-town on May 18th. However, on May 16th he appeared at a benefit for James Browne at the American, and on May 22nd he was at the same theatre for John Charles Freer's benefit.⁴⁰ Furthermore, he did not play at the Park Theatre in New York during May at all, although he was there on June 2nd for a benefit for Peter Richings.⁴¹ Incidentally, Edmund Simpson was the sole proprietor of that theater then, his partner Stephen Price, not Pratt, having died on January 20, 1840.⁴² In brief, it cannot be proved that Burton was out of the city at all during the last two weeks of May, unless he played for a single week beginning May 25th in some smaller place, the theatrical records of which have not been searched. In view of the obvious discrepancies, Smith's whole account is open to question, and may indeed have derived from Griswold rather than have independent value.

The whole question of whether Poe was drinking in excess, if at all, before Virginia's hemorrhage in January 1842 can hardly be conclusively settled by Smith's casual statements that Poe and a few cronies, including himself aged at most sixteen or seventeen, were frequently intoxicated of an evening. The evidence pro and con has been set forth in detail by Poe's biographers. Apparently Rosenbach wanted to give both sides, so he excerpted from Poe's letter to Dr. Snodgrass the portion frequently cited as evidence of his sobriety at this time. The letter was first printed in the *Baltimore American* of April 4, 1881, and was subsequently reprinted in other papers. Rosenbach's source was probably Woodberry's biography which he later quoted.⁴³

Of unusual interest, however, is Smith's picture of Poe at his grandmother's house. This could of course have been a flight of Smith's imagination, but the likelihood exists that Poe, who certainly knew Robert Penn Smith, may have visited the famous Smith family home. High on a hill overlooking Ridge Pike, nearly opposite the Old Falls Tavern, at the Falls of the Schuylkill Provost William Smith built himself a magnificent house some-

time before 1773.⁴⁴ It was unusual in design, with a section overlooking the hill built out from the main rectangle in semi-octagonal shape. Soon after he put up two smaller buildings, known as the octagon and hexagon, constructed in the same manner. This curious cluster of houses became known as "Smith's Folly," by which name the estate was called locally. In 1801, when he was seventy-five, William Smith began the mausoleum, designed by Latrobe, which he intended as a burial place for himself and his family.⁴⁵ His concern for this family vault is evidenced by the detailed instructions concerning it in his will, written the following year, where he urged that a marble figure of the Angel of the Revelation "be not forgot, and that Mr. [William] Rush, the carver, be expedited to finish and put up same according to his promise," and that the words, "Time shall be no more," be cut above the doorway and painted black.⁴⁶

After the Provost died in 1803, the Falls of Schuylkill estate passed to his son, William Moore Smith.⁴⁷ In 1808 or 1809 Joseph Neef established a school in the little "octagon," in which the Pestalozzian system of education was introduced into this country, and where Richard Penn Smith received his early education. William Moore Smith died in 1821, and his widow continued to live on there and was in residence while Poe was in Philadelphia. If we do not know with certainty that Poe visited her, we do know that he was within a stone's throw of the house as he walked along Ridge Road to the Wissahickon one morning in 1843.⁴⁸ On this walk or another the little mausoleum, perched on the brow of a hill which looked over the countryside, may have been noted. To him in a macabre mood it would have been a fitting and dramatic spot to sit and read such works as *The Monk*, *Tales of Terror*, *Frankenstein*, and *The Five Nights of St. Albans*,⁴⁹ in which the gloom and mystery of ancestral sepulchres play so important a part. I have not seen it explicitly stated elsewhere that Poe read these particular books, but his fascination with horror novels is more than obvious in his own works.⁵⁰

It would have been satisfying to find that the text above the door of the vault under which he sat had been incorporated by him in *The Raven*, but such is not the case though the tone and rhyme are right. Yet the fact that the poem was written in one

form or another before it appeared in the *Evening Mirror* on January 29, 1845, has been generally accepted,⁵¹ although Smith's account of its purchase by Graham for charity has not, so far as I know, been recorded, nor can it be substantiated. The fact that Graham and his friends condemned it would account for its non-appearance in a Philadelphia journal prior to its New York publication. What Professor Griffis's story may have been is not known. The evidence he adduced in his unpublished article was unsatisfactory to Woodberry, and had no connection with Smith.⁵²

In summation, the Smith reminiscences do reveal the origin of the Rosenbach myth. They certainly cannot be accepted at face value, but perhaps there are hints about Poe's life in Philadelphia, still so little known, which may lead to richer and more reliable sources.

NOTES

1. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe. A Critical Biography*, New York, 1941, p. 296-304.
2. *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe, With a Memoir by Rufus Wilmot Griswold*, New York, 1855-56, v. I:xxxiii.
3. The letter has not been found; its existence is known through Poe's reference to "your very singular letter of Saturday" in his letter to Burton, written Monday, June 1, 1840, cf. John Ward Ostrom, ed., *The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*, Cambridge, 1948, v. I:129-33.
4. George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe*, Boston, 1885.
5. G. E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, Boston, 1909, v. I:242.
6. Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe the Man*, Philadelphia, 1926, p. 624.
7. Hervey Allen, *Israfel, The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe*, New York, 1926, v. II:470-1.
8. A. H. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
9. Henry Samuel Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894, p. 342-3, gives a short biography of Rosenbach.
10. *The American*, February 26, 1887, Number 342, p. 296, from copy in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.
11. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1886, Number 318, p. 328, where the reminiscences of Smith relating to Tom Moore's Cottage are introduced by

a passage to show that he knew Burton who gave him most of the material. In the Rosenbach Ms. Notes, p. 1, this reads: "My first acquaintance with Edgar Allan Poe was made in December 1837 prior to that he had been introduced into Phil by W^m E. Burton as assistant editor of the Gentleman's Mag. Sometime during the Christmas holidays my father (R. P. Smith) gave an evening party for the purpose of presenting Poe to his literary associates."

12. Rosenbach Ms., p. 3, reads: "The supper was given in the dining room of the 2nd floor of our house on 6th St ab. Willow then number 243."
13. Rosenbach Ms., p. 5, adds: "kept by a man named Upton."
14. Rosenbach Ms., p. 5-6, adds: "Brandy was 6 cents a drink, and as when one of us had money we all had, we generally managed to come home pretty well befuddled."
15. It seems more likely, if Smith's story is true, that Burton arrived home on Saturday, May 30th, and then and there wrote Poe the now-lost letter dismissing him. The magazine would then have appeared on Wednesday, June 3rd.
16. Rosenbach Ms., p. 7-8, adds: "All the manuscript that was sent to Burton's Mag. passed before the eyes of my father who made the final selection although his name never appeared as Editor."
17. Rosenbach Ms., p. 8, adds: "& in a short [while] left Philada." Apparently omitted because Smith contradicts the statement later; of course, it was not true.
18. This section in the Rosenbach Ms., p. 8, is in unexpanded note form, but Lewis's *Monk* is among the titles listed. Another note reads: "Miserable misanthrope Reading indicative of character."
19. Rosenbach Ms., p. 8, reads: "when he was a miserable wreck."
20. Rosenbach Ms., p. 9, adds: "one said it was wild weird trash."
21. Charles K. Mills, *The Falls of Schuylkill*, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 7-8, also says he got into trouble on account of some things he had written. In its sources for the life of Provost William Smith, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1946, XVII:357, notes that Horace W. Smith in his biography of his great-grandfather "presents all Smith's activities in the most favorable light."
22. There is a biography of Robert Penn Smith in DAB, XVII:333-4, which gives other sources. In a brief account of his father, Horace W. Smith in *Life and Correspondence of Reverend William Smith*, Philadelphia, 1879-80, v. II:525-34, recalls how proud he was of his father's associates, James M. Barker, Robert M. Bird, Joseph C. Neal, Edwin Forrest, James Goodman, Edgar A. Poe, Louis A.

Godey, William E. Burton, Robert T. Conrad, Joseph C. Chandler and Morton McMichael, "the literary magnates of Philadelphia." It is interesting that most of these were listed as having been at Smith's party. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 344-5, accepts this statement as evidence that Poe was among the literary leaders of his day. A family genealogy in Smith, v. II:542-7, gives birth, death and marriage dates.

23. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1884, v. III:1978.
24. See note 16.
25. A short biographical sketch of Horace W. Smith appears in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, New York, 1888, v. V:593. In the appendix to his biography of William Smith (*op. cit.* v. II:531-3) Horace W. Smith includes letters written by Richard Penn Smith to him at Nazareth Hall, one of January 1838, showing that he had spent the Christmas holidays at home. Horace Smith at one time studied dentistry, but never practiced, spending most of his time in literary pursuits. He served for a while in the Civil War, and died in 1891. A list of his writings is given in the article cited above.
26. A. H. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 275, "Yet Poe does not speak, in his correspondence, of his attendance at the theatre in Philadelphia, nor does he mention his amusements or social life."
27. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
28. James Rees, *The Life of Edwin Forrest*, Philadelphia, 1874, p. 145-58.
29. A letter of Burton to Poe of May 11, 1839, quoted by Quinn, p. 278, is the earliest reference to their association. In the June issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* Burton announced that Poe was going to assume some editorial duties, and in the July issue his name appeared with Burton's as editor.
30. *United States Gazette*, December 3-31, 1838.
31. A. M'Elroy, *Philadelphia Directory for 1840*, Philadelphia, 1840, p. 301. Joshua P. Jeffries is listed as the proprietor in 1840; Hartwell is thus listed the following year, p. 320.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 258. "eating house, 66 Dock bel. Pear."
34. *Ibid.*, p. 115. Hirst later became a lawyer. His poetical writings and his friendship with Poe are discussed in the standard biographies. Hirst wrote the short biography of Poe which appeared in the *Saturday Museum*, February 25, 1843, Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 370-1.

35. A. M'Elroy, *Philadelphia Directory for 1841*, Philadelphia, 1841, p. 238, "editor, 6 Franklin Place." *The Daily Chronicle*, published by Alexander and Scott, began publication on May 4, 1840. Scott may well have worked for Alexander before that time, and if so had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Poe, for Alexander was not only the printer of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which he had founded, but also the publisher of *Alexander's Weekly Messenger* to which Poe contributed articles on cryptograms from Dec. 18, 1839 to May 6, 1840. For an account of Poe's contributions and Alexander's career, see Clarence S. Brigham, "Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to Alexander's Weekly Messenger," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 1:45-125 (1943).
36. *Ibid.*, p. 206, "William T. Parker, oysters, 6th & Carpenter."
37. A. M'Elroy, *Philadelphia Directory for 1840*, Philadelphia, 1840, p. 91, "David Gibb, refectory, under Arcade."
38. Scharf and Westcott, *op. cit.*, v. III:2011.
39. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1898, v. III: 353, and A. M'Elroy, *Philadelphia Directory for 1841*, p. 111, "Richard Harbord, Decatur coffee h., 6 Decatur."
40. *United States Gazette*, May 16 and 22, 1840.
41. Dr. William Van Lennep, Curator of the Theatre Collection, Harvard College Library, kindly gave me this information in a letter of Dec. 29, 1950.
42. DAB, XV:215.
43. G. E. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, (1885), p. 132, and Ostrom, *op. cit.*, v. I:155-7.
44. Descriptions, pictures and the history of the houses are given in C. K. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 3-7; see also Charles V. Hagner, *Early History of the Falls of Schuylkill*, Philadelphia, 1869, p. 26, and Harold D. Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City*, Philadelphia, 1939, p. 401.
45. Horace W. Smith, *op. cit.*, v. II:415-6.
46. *Ibid.*, v. II:418-9.
47. Aware that his heirs might have to sell the estate, R. P. Smith bought a lot in Laurel Hill Cemetery and directed that after he died the bodies in the mausoleum should be disinterred and reburied in the cemetery. In 1854 this was done, but somehow the body of Provost Smith was not discovered, and it rested forgotten in the abandoned vault until considerably later when Horace Smith

noted the absence of his great-grandfather's remains, found them, and had them reburied, *ibid.*, v. II:449.

48. Poe's sketch, "Morning on the Wissahiccon," appeared in *The Opal* for 1844, and describes the route which would have taken him near Smith's.
49. Matthew G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) and *Tales of Terror* (1801), Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), and William Mudford's *The Five Nights of St. Albans* (1829) were representative works of the school of terror novelists then enjoying a considerable vogue both in England and America.
50. Spiller, Thorp, Johnson and Canby, eds., *Literary History of the United States*, New York, 1948, v. I:342, remark at the end of the section on Poe "the intense investigation of the roots of Gothic horror in morbid states of mind has been part of American fiction from Brockden Brown and Poe through Ambrose Bierce and William Faulkner."
51. A. H. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 439, "It seems almost certain that 'The Raven' was a growth, that the first form began to shape itself before Poe left Philadelphia. Several of the stories about the earlier reading of the poem are undoubtedly apocryphal, but since none of them make any valid contribution to its interpretation or bear any credible testimony concerning vital changes, they are really of little consequence."
52. G. E. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, (1885), p. 221-2. William E. Griffis taught in Japan from 1870 to 1874. He then studied for the ministry, and at the time this article appeared was pastor of the Shawmut Congregational Church. How or from whom he had his story of Poe is not known.

Maugham's "Of Human Bondage"

The Making of a Masterpiece

ROBERT SPENCE

WSOMERSET MAUGHAM has been one of the most prolific writers of our time. However, of the more than fifty books which he has published—novels and volumes of plays, short stories, essays, and travel sketches—only *Of Human Bondage* (1915) has won the full admiration of serious, reputable critics.¹ Although they tend to disregard Maugham's other work, they have been generally consistent in their praise of this autobiographical novel, comparing it with *David Copperfield* and *Tom Jones*.² *Of Human Bondage* has been, in addition, enormously popular with the general reading public. It is, in the opinion of Theodore Spencer, "probably the most universally read and admired of modern English novels."

In view of the wide acclaim which has been accorded Maugham's masterpiece, it is of interest to notice that the book was not at first a success, either with the critics³ or the public.⁴ Indeed, success came tardily to *Of Human Bondage*, though it was not ephemeral. In this paper I shall endeavor to trace briefly the history of the reception of the novel, and to suggest what seem to have been some fundamental factors underlying its rise from temporary oblivion to a position in the first rank of modern English novels.

Maugham tells us that the book

. . . was published in England [and America] in 1915 and was well enough reviewed. But we were engaged in a war and people had more important things to occupy themselves with than the characters of a work of fiction. There had been besides a spate of semi-biographical novels and the public was a trifle tired of them. My book was not a failure, nor was it a success.⁵

Evidence corroborates the suggestion that the book was not an immediate success. British reviewers in *The Tatler*, *The Westminster Gazette*, *The Nation*, and *Punch* all considered it perfunctorily, while others were generally critical. *The Saturday Review*

(September 4, 1915) objected to the evident relish of the author in depicting the sordid aspects of life. *The Athenaeum* (August 21, 1915) commented:

The values accorded by the hero to love, realism, and religion are so distorted as to have no interest beyond that which belongs to an essentially morbid personality. In such a long novel reiteration is peculiarly tiresome and apt to reduce the gratitude which should be felt for the detailed portraiture and varied aspects of life the author presents to us.

The Times Literary Supplement (August 12, 1915) commended the skill with which the portrait of Mildred Rogers is drawn, but objected to the emphasis placed on her distasteful relationship with Philip Carey:

It is not only that we resent being forced to spend so much time with so unpleasant a creature. We resent the twist that is given to the figure of life.

The comments in *The Bookman* (September, 1915) were less tempered:

It may be gathered easily enough that Philip Carey has no sort of moral principles in his relation to women. He abandons the narrow Christianity of his youth, and adopts a meagre heathenism which brings him more happiness than he deserves. His preoccupation with sex would be more tolerable if it was more frankly sensual; but with him nature is an afterthought. As a portrait of the weak egotist, of the knock-kneed Nietzschean, "Of Human Bondage" may be greeted as a remarkably clever book.

In the United States the reception by critics was, with one or two exceptions, much the same. Only the appraisal by Dreiser in *The New Republic* (December 25, 1915) was distinguished by enthusiastic and unqualified praise. Dreiser was pleased that "Nothing is left out," and compared the life of the hero as presented by Maugham with the design in the poet Cronshaw's Persian carpet:

And so it is, Mr. Maugham, this life of Philip Carey as you have woven it. One feels as though one were sitting before a splendid Shiraz or Daghestan of priceless texture and intricate weave, admiring, feeling, responding sensually to its colors and tones. Or better yet, it is as though

a symphony of great beauty by a master, Strauss or Beethoven, had just been completed and the bud notes and flower tones were filling the air with their elusive message, fluttering and dying.

Critical comment in *The Boston Evening Transcript* (August 11, 1915) and *The New York Times* (August 1, 1915), though it did not approach the fervor of Dreiser's review, was in the main favorable. *The Transcript* stated:

Romance and realism are mingled in "Of Human Bondage" exactly as they are mingled in life. It is a chronicle story well conceived, well told, and with every character in it a human being. Not all of it is "agreeable" reading, to be sure, but there is no reason why a novel should cater to the prejudices of those who demand nothing but the "agreeable" in fiction. Perhaps its greatest effect upon us is that it arouses an eager desire for further knowledge of Philip Carey's future.

And *The Times* commented:

The vivisection is at times a little too minute, the small incidents rather over elaborated, and there are certain episodes . . . which seem both repulsive and superfluous. Nevertheless, Mr. Maugham has done a big piece of work.

The majority of the American reviews, however, reveal a reaction to the novel comparable to that of the British critics, and similarly proscribe the book. The critic for *The Dial* (September 16, 1915) wrote:

When a novelist thus sets out to chronicle *everything* about his hero's life, he can hardly fail to leave us with the feeling of intimate acquaintance. But he can easily miss, as Mr. Maugham does, the broad effects and the larger issues of a human characterization. The only thing of this sort that we get from "Of Human Bondage" is a most depressing impression of the futility of life . . .

"Unhappy childhood," said *The Independent* (August 23, 1915), always is a bid for sympathy, but little Philip grows up into an insufferable cad. One longs, after reading these novels where spineless men and women yield without a struggle to the forces of evil and are overwhelmed by the world, for the ringing shout of the stout apostle Paul: "I have fought a good fight . . . I have kept the faith!"

The New York World termed *Of Human Bondage* "the sentimental servitude of a poor fool." *The Philadelphia Press* referred to it as the life of "futile Philip," while *The Outlook* insisted that "the author

might have made his book true without making it so frequently distasteful." And *The New Orleans Times-Picayune* commented: "Certainly the story cannot be said to be in any sense a wholesome one, and it would require a distinctly morbid taste for one to enjoy it thoroughly."⁶

In view of this widespread denunciation by critics in 1915, and the novel's subsequent half-dozen years of dormancy, it is surprising to learn that in 1923 the George H. Doran Company classed it with works in continual demand, and that a commentator in *The New York Times Book Review* stated in 1925 that "'Of Human Bondage' has become a classic."⁷ There are probably several reasons for the new interest American readers showed in the novel during the twenties. Perhaps there was something in the story of Philip Carey which appealed to the psychology of what Franklin Roosevelt called "the apparently soulless decade which followed the World War." Or possibly it was, as has been claimed by Richard Cordell and Stuart P. B. Mais, the publication in 1919 of *The Moon and Sixpence* which drew attention to the earlier "neglected" novel. Maugham has suggested, however, what appears to be a chief factor behind the success of his masterpiece. "It failed to do well," he says, "until, in the twenties, a number of your columnists picked it up and began to talk about it."⁸ He reiterated the statement when he presented the manuscript of the novel to the Library of Congress in April, 1946. *Of Human Bondage* was, after publication, apparently forgotten

. . . for two or three years, perhaps more . . .

Then again I had a bit of luck. For a reason I have never known it attracted the attention of writers who were then well-known columnists, Alec Woollcott, Heywood Broun, and the still living and still scintillating F. P. Adams. They talked about it among themselves and then began talking about it in their columns. It found new readers. It found more and more readers. The final result you know.

Between 1917 and 1925, roughly, a number of columnists and critics did give much attention to Maugham and to *Of Human Bondage*. Early stirrings of interest, given impetus by what appears to have been a "Maugham cult," led ultimately to wide enthusiasm.⁹ Adams, who stated in a recent letter to this writer that he often alluded to *Of Human Bondage*, praised the novel in print

as early as March 10, 1917. In his column in *The New York Tribune* under that date appeared this comment: "Home and finished reading Mr. Maugham's 'Of Human Bondage,' which I think is a great book, and I am grateful to W. Hill the artist for having told me of it." The appearance in 1919 of *The Moon and Sixpence* seems further to have elevated Maugham in the esteem of the critics. Adams praised the novel, and Heywood Broun ranked it after *Of Human Bondage*. During the early twenties Adams helped to keep the spotlight on Maugham. He wrote in his column of November 5, 1921: ". . . I read Mr. W. S. Maugham's 'Liza of Lambeth' on the train, and as good a book ever he wrote save 'Of Human Bondage.' . . . So to bed and read Maugham's 'The Circle,' a highly interesting and diverting play." The George H. Doran Company had, in that year, printed for the first time in America Maugham's earliest novel, *Liza of Lambeth*, which had appeared in London in 1897. During the previous year Doran had brought out his second novel, *Mrs. Craddock*, published in England in 1902.

Maugham's stature as a novelist was growing steadily in America—a fact due chiefly to the increasing popularity of *Of Human Bondage*. In 1922 Grant Overton stated confidently in *When Winter Comes to Main Street* (p. 270) that

The day will come . . . when people will think of him as the man who wrote *Of Human Bondage*. This novel does not need praise. All it needs, like the grand work it is, is attention; and that it increasingly gets.

Adams, also, commented on May 5, 1922: "Thinking again on 'Intrusion,' I mused that the girl [Mildred] in 'Of Human Bondage,' which still to me is the best writing Mr. W. Somerset Maugham ever did, is as well drawn as Roberta in 'Intrusion.'" This conviction that *Of Human Bondage* was Maugham's best novel was echoed by Cornelius Weygandt, who declared as early as 1925 (*A Century of the English Novel*, p. 365) that the final judgment of Maugham would rest on the basis of that work. In 1923 Stuart P. B. Mais discussed the novel in *Some Modern Authors*, stressing its "realism" and the determination of the author to present all aspects of life, regardless of how unpleasant—those elements which Dreiser had lauded eight years earlier and which

the devotees of the twenties generally pointed to.¹⁰ "Maugham," said Mais (p. 128), "ought to be one of the most formative influences of the present day. There is certainly no one who could exert such a healthy restraint on the young writer who fears to face the truth."

By the middle of the decade Maugham's novel had made, and still was making, enormous headway. Goodrich wrote in 1925: "In New York's clubs and drawing rooms and at exoteric dinner tables, one is a bit surprised to find so old a book talked of as if it had been written yesterday. . . ." "'*Of Human Bondage*' . . . in the United States is on the way to becoming an uncanonical sensation."¹¹ Goodrich's statements are not particularly surprising in view of earlier comments by Mais and Dorothea Lawrence Mann. Mais had written (*Some Modern Authors*, p. 118):

Of Human Bondage is so good a book that it is impossible (for a long time after reading it) to fall down and worship the young Americans of the Sinclair Lewis type or the intellectual young Englishwoman of the Dorothy Richardson-Romer Wilson type. *Of Human Bondage* is good because it is sincere autobiography—one of the few absolutely sincere documents I have ever read. I would give it, if I could afford copies, to every imaginative boy on leaving school.

Mrs. Mann, in a commentary in *The Boston Evening Transcript* (reprinted in Doran's 1925 tribute to Maugham under the title "Somerset Maugham in his Mantle of Mystery"), had stated enthusiastically:

I should like to see the time come when the well-read person would be as unwilling to admit not having read "*Of Human Bondage*" as he would be to admit that he had not seen the plays of Shakespeare.

Some indication as to the hold which Maugham's novel took on the reading public is suggested by an essay published by Carl Van Doren in *Century* for May, 1925 entitled "Tom Jones and Philip Carey; Heroes of Two Centuries." That such a comparison could be made is indeed revealing when one considers that—with the exception of the small re-issue of 1919—the book was not reprinted until two years earlier.

The new-found popularity of *Of Human Bondage* was not evanescent. As Maugham has said, since the critics began talking

about and writing about his novel, "nothing has stopped it." Notice of it reached even the sports pages. Gene Tunney revealed, according to Maugham, that it was the only book he read while training for the famous fight with Jack Dempsey in Philadelphia in 1926. By 1930 Dorothy Brewster and Angus Burrell were expressing the opinion (*Adventure or Experience*, p. 42) that "there are probably few characters in modern English fiction with whom readers more readily identify themselves than with Philip Carey."¹²

It should be pointed out that there were, of course, critics both in England and America who remained unconvinced that *Of Human Bondage* was a "classic," and who did not share in the enthusiasm of the Maugham cult. Desmond MacCarthy, writing in *The New Statesman*, August 14, 1920, said of the novel:

It is not a cheerful book; the attitude of the author towards human nature is mistrustful, and oddly enough there seems to be little curiosity about human beings in that attitude; the one passion which in the absence of warmer feelings helps a writer most to carry to the finish such a long detailed piece of work.

Weygandt, although holding that *Of Human Bondage* surpasses Maugham's other work, considered it at best a second-rate novel. "Maugham," he said, "is a keen student of humanity but hardly an artist at all." Brewster and Burrell adjudged the novel a good one, but noted that its ultimate effect is not gained without straining. And Theodore Spencer, in one of the more recent, dispassionate evaluations of the book, declared in 1940 that the success of the novel is definitely limited. "*Of Human Bondage* is not one of those novels which press us urgently into new areas of awareness; it merely fills out . . . those areas of awareness which we already possess."¹³

Suggestions that *Of Human Bondage* has been overrated appear (if anything may be inferred from the publication record) to have had little effect on the reading public once the columnists and critics had stimulated interest in the book. Goodrich, discussing at a ten-year distance the reception of the novel, reported that not until 1923—when the George H. Doran Company authorized a new edition—was there a serious demand for it. During the

next two years it was reprinted three times, and by 1925, said Goodrich, libraries and second-hand book stores were reporting increasing demands for it.¹⁴ The popularity of the novel appears to have mounted rapidly. In 1927 Doran issued a new edition, and in 1928 the book reached the cheap reprint stage. Odyssey Press brought out the first of these editions. Grosset and Dunlap published it in their reduced-rate Novels of Distinction series in 1929 and again in 1932, and the Modern Library added it to its list in 1930. By 1931 copies of the 1915 edition were to be found with difficulty. Frederick T. Bason, compiling a bibliography of the writings of Maugham in that year, reported that copies of the first edition of the masterpiece were among the most sought after books in the United States.

Public demand for *Of Human Bondage* continued undiminished through the thirties. The Modern Library advertised the novel in 1941 as one of its best-selling titles. The Garden City Publishing Company and the Dial Press each issued several reprints between 1933 and 1949. Even British readers, long reluctant to accept *Of Human Bondage*,¹⁵ apparently caught something of the American fever. William Heinemann, Limited, which published the novel in 1915, brought out in 1934 the first English edition in nineteen years. Reprints followed in 1935 and 1936. In 1936 Doubleday, Doran and Company published in New York the first of several limited deluxe editions. The following year the Literary Guild distributed the novel to its many thousands of members, and in 1938 Yale University Press printed it in two volumes, with an introduction by Theodore Dreiser, for members of the Limited Editions Club. The Clovernook Printing House for the Blind (Mount Healthy, Ohio) published a seven volume edition in braille in 1941, and portions of the novel were recorded recently by Maugham. In addition to the many American and the two British editions, *Of Human Bondage* has been published in a number of foreign languages—in French (1937), German (1939), Italian (n.d.), Spanish (1944), and Hungarian (n.d.).

It would appear, on the basis of the foregoing data, that there is much justification for Spencer's assertion that *Of Human Bondage* is one of the most universally read and admired of modern English novels. His statement seems valid despite the

generally unfavorable critical comment in 1915, and the subsequent half-dozen years of public apathy toward the book. Not until the early twenties did *Of Human Bondage* begin its climb toward a position in the highest level of English novels. As we have seen, the emergence of the work appears to have been due in large part to the critics and columnists who saw more in the novel than did the reviewers of 1915. Their interest stimulated public interest, and their unreserved praise was a fundamental factor in the making of a masterpiece. Maugham, when he presented the original manuscript of the novel to the Library of Congress, acknowledged the debt he owed its champions:

It is because the success of "Of Human Bondage" is due to my fellow writers in America and to a whole generation of American readers that I thought the least I could do was to offer the manuscript to the Library of Congress.

That the novel has not slipped much in the esteem of American readers is suggested by the editorial comment of the *Houston, Texas, Post* (April 28, 1946), shortly after the presentation. *The Post* declared that *Of Human Bondage* is "one of the greatest novels in the English language." Maugham, in his novel *The Razor's Edge*, stated that "we the public in our heart of hearts all like a success story." Where could one find a better one than in the history of *Of Human Bondage*?

NOTES

1. Theodore Dreiser stated in a special introduction to the novel (*Of Human Bondage*, New Haven, Conn., 1938, v. I, p. xii) that "a thing to note in connection with this book, is the way in which it dominates or overshadows the rest of the author's work, not only all of the novels and plays that preceded it, but those that have come after." For similar opinions see Theodore Spencer, "Somerset Maugham," *College English*, II:7 (October, 1940); and Carl and Mark Van Doren, *American and British Literature Since 1890*, rev. and enl. ed., New York, 1939, p. 226-7.
2. See R. A. Cordell, *W. Somerset Maugham*, New York, 1937, p. 94; Carl Van Doren, "Tom Jones and Philip Carey; Heroes of Two Centuries," *Century*, CX:115-120 (May, 1925). The opinion of Carl and Mark Van Doren (*American and British Literature Since 1890*,

p. 226) that *Of Human Bondage* is a “rival of both ‘The Old Wives’ Tale’ and ‘The Forsyte Saga’ for the position of first place among twentieth-century British novels” seems to be a typical one.

3. As Dreiser noted in his review of the novel (*The New Republic*, V:203 [December 25, 1915]), “the English reviews were almost uniformly contemptuous and critical on moral and social grounds. The hero was a weakling; not for a moment to be tolerated by sound, right thinking men.”
4. It was not reprinted until the George H. Doran Company, which published the novel in the United States in 1915, brought out a small re-issue in 1919. The second American edition did not appear until 1923, and not until 1934 was a new edition published in England.
5. *Of Human Bondage, with a Digression on the Art of Fiction*, Washington, 1946, p. 14. The statement was made in an address at the Library of Congress on April 21, 1946, on the occasion of Maugham’s presenting the original manuscript of the novel to the Library.
6. Quoted by Dreiser in his review.
7. Marcus Aurelius Goodrich, “After Ten Years ‘Of Human Bondage,’” in *W. Somerset Maugham, Novelist, Essayist, Dramatist*, New York, 1925, p. 38–9. (Goodrich’s italics.)
8. Quoted by Robert Van Gelder, “An Interview with Somerset Maugham,” *The New York Times Book Review*, April 21, 1946, p. 3. I do not mean to intimate that the basic reason for the success of *Of Human Bondage* was the favorable comment of certain columnists and critics. Their function was to call attention to what previously had been considered a mediocre novel. Possibly the book’s popularity with the public is due in part to Maugham’s skeptical world view. Readers who experienced the feelings of despair, of frustration, and of the aridity of life subsequent to World War I perhaps found—with Philip Carey—a satisfactory solution to the problems of human existence in skepticism and iconoclasm.
9. The early votaries mentioned by Maugham (Adams, Broun, and Woollcott) were joined by Grant Overton (*When Winter Comes to Main Street*, 1922, and *Authors of the Day*, 1924), A. St. John Adcock (*Gods of Modern Grub Street*, 1923), and Stuart P. B. Mais (*Some Modern Authors*, 1923). To this group of writers may be added the names of John Farrar, Charles Hanson Towne, Dorothea Lawrence Mann, Marcus Aurelius Goodrich, and Carl and Mark Van Doren—all of whom contributed essays to an appreciation of Maugham (*W. Somerset Maugham, Novelist, Essayist, Dramatist*) published by Doran in 1925. The content of the pamphlet is epitomized in two

statements by Towne (pp. 12, 11): "It may be a long time before another novelist-playwright of Maugham's calibre comes up the hill. In the meantime, while he—and we—wait, let us enjoy the genius we have among us." "'Of Human Bondage' is one of the classics of our time. It will live, along with 'Jean Christophe,' 'The Old Wives' Tale,' and 'The Forsyte Saga.' A monumental novel. A deep, rich, penetrating book, packed with beauty."

10. Goodrich said that the reader realizes, after finishing *Of Human Bondage*, that he "has seen life, if not defined, at least epically epitomized" ("After Ten Years 'Of Human Bondage,'" p. 40).
11. "After Ten Years 'Of Human Bondage,'" p. 28. (Goodrich's italics.)
12. It is to be expected that a novel as successful as *Of Human Bondage* has become should find apologists for its early unpopularity. Goodrich ("After Ten Years 'Of Human Bondage,'" p. 40-41) offers this hypothesis: "That 'Of Human Bondage' suffered tardy intellectual approval may be due to the gaudy critical methods that began to come into vogue about the time Mr. Maugham started writing. The chief impetus behind these methods seems to be . . . an intent on the part of the critic to call attention to himself rather than to the work he is criticizing."
13. "Somerset Maugham," p. 9-10.
14. "After Ten Years 'Of Human Bondage,'" p. 38. Universities, also, according to Goodrich, began showing an interest in the book about 1925.
15. See J. B. Priestley, "A Letter from England," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, VII:299 (November 1, 1930). Priestley suggests that in England Maugham has been undervalued as a novelist, chiefly because he is better known as a dramatist.

The “Quinta Parte” of “Comedias Nueva Escogidas”*

ARNOLD G. REICHENBERGER

THE Ticknor Collection in the Boston Public Library possesses a *Quinta parte* of the great 48 volume series known under the general title *Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (1652–1704); J. B. Whitney¹ indicates the present contents and adds the following note: “Of the comedias in this volume the 1st, 3rd, 9th and 11th have been inserted in place of four others, whose titles in the index have been defaced with ink.” While this note is correct as far as it goes, a check against the descriptive catalogues of La Barrera² and Cotarelo³ reveals that the *Quinta parte* of the Ticknor Collection is not, and was not, even in its original state, a copy of the genuine *Quinta parte, Madrid, 1653, por Pablo de Val, a costa de Juan de San Vicente, mercader de libros*, but is a “tomo variante.” As far as I am aware, this fact has not been known to bibliographers and a bibliographical description of the volume, therefore, may be of some value⁴:

Title-page: PARTE QVINTA./DE/COMEDIAS/DE LOS MEJORES/INGENIOS DE ESPAÑA./[Ornament, a crudely designed basket of flowers]/CON LICENCIA./[Broken line across the page]/EN MADRID.

4°; 2 prel.l., 458 unnumb. (incl. 2 blank) p., (with the exception of two plays which have separate pagination). Each play has its own signatures.

The volume is entirely made up of *sueltas*. The preliminary leaves contain: leaf 1^r: title-page; leaf 1^v: blank; leaf 2: Contents (described here in detail).

Leaf 2^r: COMEDIAS QVE TIENE/esta parte quinta [numbers of plays added by hand].

* The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Committee on the Advancement of Research of the University of Pennsylvania for its grant towards a study of the Spanish *Comedia*. He is indebted to Mr. L. W. Hanson, Keeper of Printed Books, Bodleian Library, Oxford, for bibliographical information. Professor William L. Fichter of Brown University read this article in manuscript; his bibliographical and stylistic suggestions have been incorporated and are gratefully acknowledged.

COMEDIAS QVE TIENE esta parte quinta.

1. ~~El Piadoso aragonés~~ Lope
2. Aman, y Mardoquco. Del Doccior Philippe Scainez
3. ~~Los des Corte laos~~
4. El Conde Alarcos. del Doric villa de Alcausa.
5. Donde ay Agrauios no ay Zelos. Dm Fr. de Rojas.
6. El Licenciado Vidrica. de D. Agustín Moreto.
7. Nuestra Señora del Filar. de D. Sebastián de Villavieima, D. Juan Matos, y D. Agustín Moreto.
8. El Embuste Acreditado. de Luis Vélez de Guevara.
9. ~~el de la Caramanta no al servir de la~~
10. No ay Burlas con las Mugeres. ~~de Alcalá allárida~~
11. ~~el de la Caramanta y por el~~
12. Los Amotinados en Flandes. de Luis Vélez de Guevara.

(Courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library)

LEAF 2, RECTO OF TICKNOR VOLUME

1. Printed title crossed out with ink. Still legible . . . *strellas*. Names of authors, originally written in, are crossed out. The play replaced was *Oponerse a las estrellas*, by Juan de Matos Fragoso, Antonio Martínez, and Agustín Moreto, the first play of the genuine *Quinta parte*. Underneath the old printed title is the handwritten title *El Piadoso aragonés*, to which is added in a different hand *Lope*.

2. *Aman, y Mardoqueo*. Added by hand: *Del Doctor Phelippe [sic] Godinez*.
3. Printed title crossed out and completely illegible. Author's name added by hand. The decipherable lower parts of letters of the last part of the name allow conjecture *Fragoso*. The third play of the *Quinta parte* of 1653 is *Estados mudan costumbres* by Juan de Matos Fragoso which, in all likelihood, was also the original third play of the volume under discussion. The printed title has been replaced by the handwritten one, *Dios descubre la verdad*. No indication of authorship is given. The play passes as anonymous in the various lists of *comedias*.
4. *El Conde Alarcos*. Added by hand: *del Doctor Mira de Mescua*.
5. *Donde ay Agrauios no ay Zelos*. Added by hand: *Don Fran^{co} de Rojas*.
6. *El Licenciado Vidriera*. Added by hand: *de D. Agustin Moreto*.
7. *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*. Added by hand: *de D. Sebastiā de Villaviciosa, D. Juā Matos, y D. Agustin Moreto*.
8. *El Embuste Acreditado*. Added by hand: *de Luiz [sic] Velez de Gueuara*.
9. Printed title crossed out. Still legible *A... y no Amar*.⁵ Underneath the handwritten title *avto sacramental no ai ser Padre si[en]do Juez*. The same hand tried to fit this title between the erased printed title and the margin. There is no space left for the name of the author. The original play no. 9 of the Ticknor volume was *Agradecer y no amar*, by Calderón. In the 1653 edition this play is the tenth.
10. *No ay Burlas con las Mugeres*. Added by hand: *del Dr. [?] Mira de Mescua*,⁶ now defaced by ink and practically illegible.
11. The printed title has been erased with such force to result in a horizontal tear of 6 cm. Still legible ...*Hermana*.⁵ The original seems to have been no. 6 of the 1653 edition, *El marido de su hermana*, by Juan Bautista de Villegas. Above the tear the handwritten title *desde Alcala a Madrid*. The page, however, is damaged through extension of the tear, so that the accurate transcription is *d [tear] de*. As in no. 9 an attempt was made to fit the new title between the printed title and the margin. Handwritten name of the author of the new play, *Andres de Claramonte*, half defaced by ink.
12. *Los Amotinados en Flandes*. Added by hand: *de Luiz [sic] Velez de Gueuara*.

Leaf 2^v: On top modern notation 114389, underneath to the right G[eorge]. T[icknor]. Table of contents in same hand as that replacing printed titles on leaf 2^r. 1. *el piadoso aragones*—2. *Aman i Mardoqueo*—3. *Dios descubre la Verdad*—4. *el Conde Alarcos*—5. *Donde ai agrabios no ai*

zelos—6. *el Lizenziado Vidriera*—7. *Nuestra s^{ra} de el Pilar*—8. *el embuste acreditado*—9. *avto, No ai ser Padre siendo Juez*—10. *No ai Burlas con las mujeres y casarse por [venga]rse*—11. *desde Alcala a M[adrid].*—12. *Los amotinados de [sic] Flandes.*

The following bibliographical description of the twelve plays gives a complete analysis of the four *comedias* not contained in the 1653 edition; for the remaining eight plays only those details are set out which are at variance with the 1653 edition (as checked against the microfilm copy of Raros no. 22.658 in the Biblioteca nacional, Madrid).

1. [EL PIADOSO ARAGONES]/COMEDIA/FAMOSA,/DE LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO./[Cropped by binder with loss of first line of title, but substituted in a modern hand with addition of number “1,” in the upper right hand corner] Hablan en ella las personas siguientes./Carlos Principe./⁶ La Reyna doña Iuana./Don Iuan de Beamonte./Nuño escudero./Doña Ana./⁶ Don Bernardo Rocaberti./Vn Alcalde villano./Mendoça soldado./El Rey Don Iuan./Don Pedro de Agramonte./El Infante don Fernando./Doña Eluira./Laurencia labradora./El Almirante de Castilla./Reymundo./[Ornamental band across the page]/IORNADA PRIMERA./Salen Carlos Principe, y la Reyna Doña/Iuana.

First line: Iu. Tāta descomp[ost]ura vuestra Alteza? *Last line:* escrito en seruicio vuestro./FIN.

Collation: A-D[4]^v, 32 p. Upper margin cropped, frequently affecting top line.

Autograph ms. in Biblioteca nacional, Madrid, dated August 17, 1626;⁷ *Parte XXI* of Lope’s *Comedias*, 1635; Academy Edition, X; the Ticknor text was not torn from *Parte XXI*, as a collation with the copy of *Parte XXI* in the Rennert Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library shows; it seems to follow the *Parte XXI* text or, at least the same tradition, and not the autograph, since it does correct, like the *Parte* text, the two errors of the autograph noted by Menéndez y Pelayo on p. 250 and 278 of v. X of the Academy Edition.⁸

Our text of *El piadoso aragonés* is a *suelta*, derived, directly or indirectly, from *Parte XXI*; Faxardo⁹ (p. 58) and La Barrera report no *suelta*; Medel¹⁰ (p. 225), may have been part of *Parte XXI*; recorded as a unique copy in Prof. W. L. Fichter’s unpublished bibliography of Lope’s *Comedias*.

Oponerse a las estrellas: Faxardo (p. 55) knows only the *Parte quinta* edition; Professor Rennert added: “St. Val.[suelta Valencia] viuda de Joseph de Orga, 1768;” Medel (p. 225); Restori¹¹ (no. 371): Sevilla, *Impr.^a Real.*

2. [Variants of the 1653 edition] DE AMAN, y/MARDOCHEO [1653: DE AMAN, y MAR/DOCHEO]. Assuero [Asuero]. Amà̄ [Aman]. Reyna [Reina].

Collation: A-D[4]v, 32 p.

Paz y Melia, I, 471, no. 3112: *Reina (La) Ester (Aman y Mardoqueo, o La horca para su dueño)*. Comedia de Felipe Godínez; first line of ms.: *Rey: Esto supo, esto consiente*; in the 1653 edition and in the Ticknor volume the play begins: *Amà̄. Gran Artagerges Assuero*; the ms., dated 1613, is written by various hands and incomplete. According to Faxardo (p. 6), there were *sueltas* published in Valencia and Madrid, and the play was available in the bookshop of León in Madrid; Medel (p. 150); Restori (no. 287): *Amà̄ y Mardoqueo o la Horca para su dueño, Md. A. Sanz, 1733*. Title different from both Ticknor volume and 1653 edition.

3. COMEDIA/NVEVA./DIOS DESCVBRE LA VERDAD./Personas que hablan en ella./Don Fadrique./Don Lope de Silva./Lisarda dama./Ines criada./El Rey./Rodulfo secretario./Chapin gracioso./Musicos./Doña Iuana de Silva./Lesbia criada./Don Felix galan./Celio criado./Iornada I. [over left hand column only]/Salen D. Fadrique, y Chapin/criado./

First line: Chap. Que suspension es aquesta. *Last line:* que le perdoneis los yerros./FIN.

Collation: A-F[4]v, 50 p.

The page is frequently centered so badly that several lines were trimmed by the binder, either at the top or at the bottom.

Faxardo (p. 25): “Dios descubre la verdad de un Ingenio Pte. 5a. Va. Antigua Fx.” *Fx* means that Faxardo had the play in his own library, as he explains in the Advertencia (p. 1). The reference to a *Quinta parte de varios antigua* will be discussed below; Medel (p. 175) reports title, adding *de un Ingenio*; not in Restori.

Estados mudan costumbres: no *suelta* reported by Faxardo (p. 29); Restori (No. 738): *suelta?* antica s.l.n.a.; Medel (p. 183).

4. EL CONDE ALARCOS./COMEDIA FAMOSA./DEL DOCTOR MIRA DE MESCVA./Hablan en ella las personas siguientes.

Collation: A-E [2]v, 36 p.

The title-page of the 1653 edition differs: COMEDIA FAMOSA/DEL CONDE/ALARCOS./DEL DOCTOR MIRA/DE MESCVA./Personas. The cast of characters is set up in three columns, whereas the 1653 edition uses only two. Faxardo (p. 16) knows *sueltas* printed in Valencia, Seville, and Madrid; the play was available in León’s bookshop; Medel (p. 167); Restori (no. 405): *Sevilla, Impr.ª Real, s.a.*

5. DONDE AY AGRAVIOS NO AY ZELOS./COMEDIA FAMOSA./DE DON FRANCISCO DE ROXAS./Personas que hablan en ella.

The 1653 title is: COMEDIA FAMOSA/DONDE AY AGRAVIOS /NO AY ZELOS./DE DON FRANCISCO DE ROJAS./Personas; title of play in 1653 edition is on the same page (p. 166) on which the preceding play ends, separated by an ornamental band. In the list of characters of the 1653 edition *galan* is added without comma after *D. Iuan de Aluarado*; *Roxas* is spelled with *j*; *de Rojas* is inserted between *Don Fernando* and *su padre*.

Collation: A-E[4]^v, 40 p.

Faxardo (p. 22) knows the edition in Francisco de Roxas' *Primera parte* and *sueltas* published in Valencia and Madrid. As subtitle he adds *ó la confusion de un retrato*; Medel (p. 176); not in Restori.

6. The title EL LICENCIADO BIDRIERA of the Ticknor *Quinta parte* is set in one line and uses a comma after *Comedia*, whereas the 1653 edition appears as EL LICENCIADO/BIDRIERA and has no comma after *Comedia*.

Collation: A-E[4]^v, 40 p.

Faxardo (p. 42) knows besides the edition in Moreto's *Segunda parte*, *sueltas* printed in Valencia, Sevilla, and Madrid; León had the play in stock; Medel (p. 201); not in Restori.

7. NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR. The arrangement of the title page varies in the two editions. Ticknor: Comma after *Comedia*; La primera jornada de Don Sebastian de Villavicosa; La segunda de Don/ Iuan de Matos; La tercera de Don Agustin Moreto.

The 1653 edition has no comma after *Comedia* and starts a new line after *Villavicosa* (with *v*) and *tercera*. The play begins in the middle of page 350.

Collation: A-E[4]^v, 40 p.

Faxardo (p. 54) lists *sueltas* of Valencia and Madrid; León carried the play in stock; Medel (p. 219) lists only the play of the same title by D. Pedro Lanini Sagredo (fl. 1666–1685; see La Barrera, p. 200); Restori (no. 391) gives no bibliographical data.

8. EL EMBUSTE ACREDITADO. Variants are limited to punctuation and capitalization. Ticknor *Quinta parte* has comma after *Comedia*. *Cauallero* is written with capital *c*; first line of 1653 edition: Fabr. Milan por mi (señora) te suplica; Ticknor: Milà por mi, señora, te suplica.

Collation: A-D[4]^r (D₄^v blank), 31 p. + 1 blank.

Faxardo (p. 26) gives the title as *Embuste acreditado y disparate creido ó encantos de Merlin* and lists *sueltas* published in Valencia and Madrid; the play was carried in León's bookstore; Medel (p. 179), ascribed to D. Juan Vélez de Guevara; Restori (no. 633): *El Embuste acreditado y el Disparate creido—suelta s.l.n.a.*

9. NO AY SER PADRE/SIENDO IVEZ/AVTO SACRAMENTAL./Por Iuan Francisco Manuel./PERSONAS./Christo Señor nuestro./

Vn Angel./Deuucion Muger./El Demonio./Desacato Galan./Vulgo Gracioso./Ficcion Muger./Musicos. Tocan caxa, y sale el Demonio, y Ficcion con plumas,/y espada ceñida.

First line: Dem. Suene el parche sonoro. *Last line:* no ay ser Padre siendo Iuez./FIN./Sujeto á la Santa Madre Iglesia Catolica/Romana.

Collation: A-D[₂]^r (D₂ blank), 27 p. (numbers printed) + 1 blank p.

Not mentioned by Faxardo and Medel who do not list *autos*; not in Restori; La Barrera (p. 236) reports a *suelta* edition.

Agradecer y no amar: Faxardo (p. 3): *Agradecer y no amar de Caldñ. en su pte la [=primera] y pte 5a Vs. [=Varios] y st. en Va en Md. Ln.* (=sueltas en Valencia, en Madrid.—Ln. means “available in León’s bookshop”); Medel (p. 148); not in Restori.

10. NO AY BURLAS CON LAS MUGERES, O CASARSE Y VENGARSE. The set-up of the title in the Ticknor volume differs from that of the 1653 edition as follows: Comma after *Comedia*. BURLAS CON LAS/MVGERES, whereas 1653 ends the line after CON; comma after *Casarse*. In the first line the abbreviation of the name of the character is *D. Lo.*, not *D. Lop.*, as in the 1653 edition.

Collation: A-F[₄]^v, 50 p.

Faxardo (p. 53) knows a *suelta* printed in Valencia; Medel (p. 216); not in Restori.

11. DE ALCALA A MADRID./COMEDIA FAMOSA/DE ANDRES DE CLARAMONTE./Personas que hablan en ella./Doña Isabel Reyna de Castilla./Don Alonso de Aguilar./Don Gonçalo de Cordova./ El Marques de los Velez./El Vizconde./ Doña Esperança./ Doña Elvira./Doña Ana./Garceran./Cordouilla y Musicos./IOR-NADA PRIMERA./Sale el Marques de los Velez con bas-ton de Mayor-domo, las damas con ga-/[l]anes. Doña Esperança enmedio de/Don Gonçalo y Don Alonso a la pos-/tre la Reyna D. Isabel leyendo vna/ carta, el Vizconde muy galan,/Garceran y Cordouilla.

First line: Lee Isab. El Vizconde es la persona. *Last line:* en su historia sucedieron./FIN.

Collation: A-E[₄]^v, 20 l. (numbers printed).

Faxardo (p. 20) mentions a *suelta* published in Valencia;¹² Medel (p. 171); La Barrera (p. 94); not in Restori.

El marido de su hermana: No *suelta* recorded by Faxardo; Medel (p. 205); Restori (no. 671): *Marido de su hermana y Mentirosa verdad.—Sevilla, Impr.^a Real, s.a.*

12. A difference in the setup of the title and of the cast of characters between the 1653 edition and the Ticknor volume is to be noted. The title of the Ticknor reads: LA GRAN COMEDIA,/LOS AMOTINADOS DE/FLANDES: 1653 edition: AMOTINADOS/DE; cast of characters: Ticknor: three columns, 1653 edition: two columns; finally,

Ticknor: *Don Diego de Silva, de el/habito de Santiago*; 1653 edition: *Silua, del Abido* [sic]; in the 1653 edition the play begins in the middle of p. 527 (Cotarelo has misprint p. 257).

Collation: A-E[4]v, 40 p.

Faxardo (p. 6) knows a *suelta* published in Sevilla. Added by hand (not Rennert's) *en Va[lencia]*; Medel (p. 154); Restori (no. 628) without bibliographical details.

The Ticknor volume of the *Quinta parte* thus originally contained the same plays as the Madrid, 1653, edition, but as *sueltas* with nos. 6–11 placed in a different sequence, no. 6 of the original *Quinta parte* (*El marido de su hermana*) becoming no. 11 in the Ticknor volume. Then, a bookseller, publisher, or a private owner of the Ticknor volume made four replacements, utilizing, however, the old title page and table of contents. He replaced no. 1, *Oponerse a las estrellas*, with *El piadoso aragonés*, no. 3, *Estados mudan costumbres*, with *Dios descubre la verdad*, no. 9, *Agradecer y no amar*, with the *auto* *No hay ser padre siendo juez*, and no. 11, *El marido de su hermana*, with *Desde Alcalá a Madrid*. The other remarkable differences are: The names of the publisher and printer and the year of publication are lacking. The volume has no *dedicatoria, licencia, aprobaciones, suma de privilegio, suma de tasa, fe de erratas*, all of which are found in the original *Quinta parte* (Cotarelo, p. 27). It is also noteworthy that the Ticknor volume in its present condition has only 458 pages, two of which are blank, whereas the volume described by Cotarelo has 511 pages. It cannot be stated without further examination whether the *comedias* of the Ticknor volume have been cut, or whether the typographical set-up of the Madrid, 1653, edition accounts for the greater number of pages.

In an Apéndice to the catalog of the *Escogidas* collection La Barrera, on the authority of Faxardo, lists *tomas variantes* (p. 704–5). Here he cites a *Parte quinta de varios antigua*, which he himself has not seen. Faxardo, according to La Barrera, mentions only two plays of this *Parte*: *Dios descubre la verdad*—one of the four substitute plays of the Ticknor volume—and *El devoto de la Concepción, o el pleito del Demonio con la Virgen—De tres Ingenios*; the first title is described here as no. 3, the second title is alphabetized in the Faxardo catalog (p. 59) under *Pl* as follows: *Pleito del Demonio con la Virgen o devoto de la Concepcion de 3 Ingenios Pte. 6^a Vs.*

y St. en Va. en Sa. en Md. This play actually forms part of one of the two Zaragoza, 1654, editions of the *Sexta parte* of the *Escogidas* collection (La Barrera, p. 689; Cotarelo, p. 37). Faxardo is correct, since he evidently refers by *Varios* to what we call today the *Escogidas* collection, and La Barrera is in error. At any rate, since *Dios descubre la verdad* was not contained in the original form of the Ticknor volume, Faxardo's report on a *Parte quinta de varios antigua* cannot refer to it. Nor can the *otra parte 5^a impresa en Alcalá 1615* [sic] listed by Faxardo (p. 80) be the Ticknor volume, since one of the plays of the latter volume in its original form, Lope's *Oponerse a las estrellas*, was composed, as we have seen, in August, 1626 and Moreto, author of *El Licenciado Vidriera*, had not even been born. Antonio Restori, *Saggi di bibliografia teatrale spagnuola*, (Geneva, 1927, p. 18–21) describes a volume entitled *Flor de las comedias de España, de diferentes Autores. Quinta parte. . . . Alcalá, 1615*, the contents of which differ entirely from the Ticknor volume. There is also a *Quinta parte*, Barcelona, 1616, identical in content with the Alcalá, 1615, edition, but issued with continued foliation and signatures (Restori, *Saggi, ibid.*) These two *Quinta partes* may be those referred to by Faxardo (p. 80). The Ticknor volume was, therefore, in its original form a *tomo variante colecticio* of the *Quinta parte*, Madrid, 1653, hitherto unrecorded.¹³

I am unable to be specific about place and date of publication. The generally chaotic conditions in the publishing of *comedias* during the 17th and early 18th centuries are well enough known not to need further elaboration.¹⁴ The fact that a publisher issued a volume of 12 *comedias* the sale of which he tried to advance by duplicating title and content of an already existing *Parte* is by no means surprising. The frequent occurrence of the adjective *verdadero* in the title of a *Parte* in itself is proof enough. A plausible conjecture in this specific case would seem to be that the volume was quickly thrown together, probably by a competing publisher (who wished to remain unknown) after the 1653 *Quinta parte* had proved to be a commercially successful enterprise. Furthermore, the publication of another *Quinta parte* could have been a practical way to reduce an over-stock of *sueltas* (see Restori, p. 8). The various catalogues consulted show there existed *suelta* editions of 14 out of the 16 plays discussed. The fact that Faxardo gives the

places of publication for all of them, whereas the Ticknor volume does not, can be explained by the assumption that the publisher had the title pages and colophons torn off in order to obscure, as well as he could, the poor make-up of his volume. It is, of course, quite possible that the *sueltas* forming the Ticknor volume are different from those recorded in various catalogues.

We can point to a number of comparable bibliographical phenomena within the *Escogidas* collection to substantiate our assumption. First, there exist some volumes made up of *sueltas*. We know such an edition of the *Parte I*; it bears year of publication and name of printer of the genuine volume, but each play has its own signatures, and some have their own pagination. Like the Ticknor volume it lacks the usual preliminaries and the colophon; it has only two preliminary leaves, the second with the table of contents. This volume must have been issued either by the printer of the genuine *Primera parte* or by someone imitating its title page after the great enterprise of the *Escogidas* Collection had given promise of commercial success.¹⁵

Of the *Segunda parte*, 1652, Cotarelo says (p. 12) "se puede descomponer en sueltas." The plays of *Parte XVI*, 1662, have their individual signatures, but this time collateral with continuing foliation. Salvá's¹⁶ copy of this volume was made up of *sueltas* with special foliation for each play (Cotarelo, p. 83). During the first 9 or 10 years of its existence the *Escogidas* collection must have enjoyed reputation judging from duplications and reprints. More than one edition has been established with sufficient certainty for the following *Partes*:

I: (a) the genuine volume; (b) the one just discussed; composed of *sueltas*; (c) a third, the same year and place, but with a different set of *comedias*, different title, different printer and publisher (Cotarelo, p. 10-11, Gasparetti, *loc. cit.*, p. 571-587).

V: 1654, identical with the 1653 edition (Cotarelo, p. 30).¹⁶

VI: there are two editions of the *Sexta parte*, published by the same firm, Herederos de Pedro Lanaja, Zaragoza, 1654. Each edition has a different set of *comedias*, but both volumes are composed of *sueltas*, each with its individual signatures (Cotarelo, p. 2, 31, 35).

XI: 1658; a reprint appeared the following year without any changes (Cotarelo, p. 62).

XII: 1658; reprinted 1659, with slight variations in the title page, and again 1679, with a new title page (Cotarelo, p. 67).

XIV: 1660; reprinted 1661 (Cotarelo, p. 78).

Outside of the *Escogidas* collection, we know similar cases concerning the Moreto and Tirso editions. Restori (p. 84) records a three volume edition of Moreto in the Parma Library (CC* III 28054) bearing the frontispiece of the three volume edition by Benito Mace, Valencia, 1676, but composed entirely of *sueltas*, some of them originating in the Sevillan establishments of Leefdael and Hermosilla. He quotes from the *aprobación* of the *Segunda parte*: “Estas comedias de don Agustín Moreto corren ya impresas y aplaudidas en diferentes tomos; en las de este, *cuya impresion se pretende repetir en Valencia* (Restori’s italics), no puedo añadir, etc.” (see also La Barrera, p. 277). Restori (p. 110) reports a similar situation for a collection of plays by Tirso, issued by *Sra. Teresa Guzmán, Madrid, Lonja de Comedias, Pta del Sol*, around 1734. Finally, what Restori (p. 3) says about the sad condition of many of the volumes of the *Collezione* he describes, is equally true of the Ticknor volume: “Chi raccolse e chi legò i volumi fecero a gara a far peggio: alle commedie stampate fu spesso strappato il frontispizio e la retro-copertina, sicché non sempre si può indovinare donde provengono. . . . Il legatore poi, per squadrare i volumi, rilegati a *brochure*, non ha badato a portar via o il nome dell’autore o il titolo, e talora perfino i primi e gli ultimi versi d’ogni pagina.”

NOTES

1. J. B. Whitney, *Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portuguese Books Bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library*, Boston, 1879, p. 98.
2. Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español*, etc., Madrid, 1860, p. 684. Cited in the text as La Barrera.
3. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Catálogo descriptivo de la gran Colección de comedias escogidas*, etc., Madrid, 1932, p. 27–30. Cited in the text as Cotarelo. Cotarelo’s description is capricious in the rendering of punctuation and accentuation, as a collation of the *Catálogo descriptivo* with the microfilm of the copy in the Biblioteca nacional,

Madrid (Raros 22.658) shows. Cotarelo also fails to indicate whether a play starts on a new page or not.

4. Capitalized words of the text are so rendered, although the various types and sizes are not.
5. Legible in the original only, not in the microfilm.
6. / represents end of line; // end of column.
7. Antonio Paz y Melia, *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el Departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca nacional*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1934-35, v. I:433, no. 2855. Cited in the text as Paz y Melia.
8. See Antonio Restori's review article, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXIX:364 (1905).
9. Juan Isidro Faxardo, *Titulos de todas las Comedias que en verso, Español y Portugues se han impreso hasta el año de 1716. Estan recogidos por una curiosidad diligente, que ha procurado reconocer todos los libros y Bibliotecas donde se ha podido hallar la noticia y si faltaran algunas comedias será por no haverla hallado de ellas, En Madrid año 1717.* Ms. 14706, Biblioteca nacional (codice M-53, according to La Barrera, p. xi). The typewritten copy in the University of Pennsylvania Library, containing handwritten notes by Rennert, was used. Cited in the text as Faxardo.
10. Medel, “*Indice general alfabetico de todos los titulos de comedias que se han escrito por varios autores, antiguos, y modernos. Y de los autos sacramentales y alegoricos, assi de don Pedro Calderon de la Barca, como de otros autores clasicos,*” (Madrid, 1735), ed. John M. Hill in *Revue hispanique*, LXXV:144-369 (1929). This is a bookseller's catalog issued by the Herederos de Francisco de Medel del Castillo. Cited in the text as Medel.
11. Antonio Restori, “*La collezione CC* IV. 28033 della Biblioteca Palatina-Parmense,*” *Studj di filologia romanza*, VI:1-156 (1893). Cited in the text as Restori.
12. The entry reads: “*De Alcala a Madrid de Claramonte Extravagante, Dfs. 5a y St. en Va.*” The *Extravagante* without indication of *Parte* and volume is puzzling. It is probably the copyist's error, who carried the word over from the preceding line which reads: “*De un castigo tres venganzas de Lope en su Pte 28 Extravagante. . . .*” Dfs. 5a cannot refer to the genuine *Quinta parte* of the *Escogidas* collection, as Professor Sturgis E. Leavitt, *The Estrella de Sevilla and Claramonte*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, p. 55, no. 1, correctly stated.
13. (a) The British Museum possesses a relatively perfect copy of the whole collection (call number 11725, b.c.d.; see *British Museum Catalogue*, Re-publication, 1946, v. LI, s.v. Spain, Appendix—

Miscellaneous, col. 321-2). Another copy, with manuscript notes by J. R. Chorley, is listed under the call number 11726.h. Since the *Catalogue* indicates that the *Quinta parte* of this copy belongs to a different edition, we examined it in microfilm. It shows the following characteristics: in place of the original title page and table of contents there are ms pages closely imitating printed type, executed by the skillful hand of Chorley; the title pages show three variants from the 1653 edition: 1) the year of publication is 1654; 2) the line division is *Mercader/de*, whereas 1653 has *Mercader de/*; 3) *Vendense* for *Vendese* in 1653. Content and sequence of plays are the same as in the 1653 edition, but the volume is "made up." Plays no. 3, 6, 9-12 come from the original *parte* edition, as a collation with the Bodleian copy proves; the other six plays are *sueltas*, nos. 2, 4, 7, 8 being identical with the *sueltas* in the Ticknor volume; no. 5 is a *suelta* different from the one which went into the Ticknor volume; no. 1 cannot be compared, since the Ticknor volume has a different play. There is no plausible reason why a seventeenth-century publisher or bookseller should have issued such a volume, i.e. substituting half of the plays of an already existing *parte* with *sueltas*. I believe that this volume in its present form was made up by Chorley from an imperfect copy of a genuine *Quinta parte* by supplying the wanting six plays in *suelta* editions, as well as the title-page and the table of contents, but omitting the preliminaries. This was Chorley's practice, as H. A. Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, Glasgow, 1904 (reprint, New York, 1937, p. 553) reports: "Chorley frequently displays extraordinary cleverness in restoring imperfect copies, and in imitating printed characters on leaves of seventeenth-century paper. . . ." A second edition, Madrid, 1654, is mentioned by Münch-Bellinghausen, *Ueber die älteren Sammlungen spanischer Dramen*, Wien, 1852, p. 55, La Barrera (p. 689), and Cotarelo (p. 30). A copy of this 1654 edition is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, as Münch-Bellinghausen stated and Mr. L. W. Hanson, Keeper of Printed Books kindly confirmed. The shelf-mark is Arch.Σ. III. 20, and their set of the collection is catalogued in the 1851 Supplement to the 1843 Catalogue. The entry is: *Comedias de España sacadas de sus verdaderos originales. 48 partt. 4º. Madr. 1613-1704.* The Library of the University of Pennsylvania has a microfilm copy of its *Quinta parte*. Another original copy of the 1654 edition is in the Vatican Library (see A. Restori, *Saggi sulla bibliografia teatrale spagnuola*, Geneva, 1927, p. 95.)

(b) The title-page of the *Primera parte* with the date 1613 does not belong here. The preliminaries all bear the correct date of 1652, the table of contents corresponds to the Biblioteca nacional copy of the 1652 edition, although there are some variants, the most important being for play no. 5 [*Chico Baturi, de tres ingenios*]: Don Antonio de

Herrera, where Cotarelo transcribes “Huerta.” Since this title-page may have some importance for further bibliographical research, we give its transcription: PRIMERA PARTE/DE/COMEDIAS/ SACADAS DE SVS VERDADEROS/*originales.*./[Escudo del Mecenas: A heraldic eagle with the emblem *veritas vincit*. Ornament on each side]/Año 1613./CON PRIVILEGIO./[Dividing line composed of 12 units]/En Madrid. En Casa de Miguel Serrano de Vargas./*A costa de Miguel Martinez.* (Bibl. nac. Σ. III. 18.)

14. Their origin is aptly described by Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, “Proyecto de una edición de las ‘Obras completas’ de Lope de Vega,” *Revista de bibliografía nacional*, V:224–5 (1944), n. 66. For a clear exposition of the bibliographical problems arising from those conditions see Rudolph Schevill, “On the Bibliography of the Spanish Drama,” *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII:321–7 (1907). Antonio Restori, *Saggi di bibliografia teatrale spagnuola*, Geneva, 1927, studies in chapt. II “volumi genuini, di collezioni e *sueltas*.” For the bibliographical analysis of a specific problem see H. C. Heaton, “Lope de Vega’s *Parte XXVII extravagante*,” *Romanic Review*, XV: 100–4 (1924) and C. E. Anibal, “Lope de Vega’s *Dozena Parte*,” *Modern Language Notes*, XLVII:1–7 (1932) where he establishes that there existed two distinct impressions of this *Parte*, offering important textual variants. As early as 1769 Johann Andreas Dieze, in his translation of Don Luis Joseph Velázquez, *Geschichte der spanischen Dichtkunst*, Göttingen, 1769, p. 331, noticed that many *Partes* appeared under the same number at different places in different years, containing different plays and that they were not catalogued, frequently containing plays not to be found elsewhere.
15. See Antonio Gasparetti, “La collezione di *Comedias nuevas escogidas*,” *Archivum romanicum*, XV:569–71 (1931). Since, as Gasparetti says, the *sueltas* are not typographically homogeneous, the volume cannot be a *tirada a parte* “para vender sueltas las comedias,” as Cotarelo (p. 9) surmises. A. L. Stiefel, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXI:492–3 (1907) describes briefly the copy in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich, identical with the genuine Madrid edition.
16. *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá*, escrito por D. Pedro Salvá y Mallén, Valencia, 1872, v. I:405.
17. Concerning the 1654 edition see note 13.

Library Notes

Compiled by THOMAS R. ADAMS

Unrecorded Francis Bacon

THE bibliography of Francis Bacon by R. W. Gibson, published last year, ranks as one of the truly important studies of its kind. Although bibliographers aim to be definitive in their work, experience shows that this aim is but very rarely fulfilled.

The Rare Book Collection recently acquired an addition to "Gibson," namely, a 1702 edition of *A Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland* (Gibson reports editions of 1603; 1670; 1700, Griffin; 1700, Milbourn). Bacon published this little pamphlet at the time when the crowns of England and Scotland were united in James (I of England, and VI of Scotland). Our republication was issued during the agitation that led, four years later, to the Act of Union passed by the Parliaments of England and Scotland.

The University copy, sewn and uncut, is described below:

A BRIEF/DISCOURSE/Of the Happy/UNION/OF THE/
KINGDOMS/OF/SCOTLAND and ENGLAND,/WITH/Certain
ARTICLES concerning the same./[Rule]/Dedicated to His MA-
JESTY./[Rule]/By the Right Honourable Sir *Francis/Bacon*, Kt.
Baron of *Verulam*, Viscount/of St. *Alban*, and Lord High Chancellor
of England.[Rule]/LONDON,/Printed in the Year 1702./

Signatures: [A]⁸, 8vo; 16x10 cm. *Collation:* Title, p. [1]; text, p. [2]–16.

Curtis Collection of Franklin Imprints

In the past year the Library continued to add to its already outstanding Curtis Collection. One new item is Dr. Samuel Blair's *A Particular Consideration of a Piece, Entitled The Querists* (1741), written by the Presbyterian clergyman in support of George Whitefield. Franklin printed many of the tracts which arose from the controversial preaching of Whitefield. A second is *The Charter of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (1746), containing the laws for the use of the library and a list of books added since its second catalogue of 1741. Our copy is in superb condition, uncut and unopened. As is well known, Franklin was an important force in founding the Library Company, which was to play such an outstanding part in Philadelphia's cultural life.

In addition to the *Poor Richard's*, Franklin's printing shop issued a number of other almanacs. Our recently acquired copy of *The American Almanack for the Year . . . 1758*, by John Jerman, is perhaps the only

recorded copy for that year. The Library possesses two other issues which are the only recorded copies.

A previously unknown imprint, purchased during 1950/51, is the authorization by Lieutenant Governor James Hamilton to raise troops for the French and Indian wars. It bears the seal of the Lieutenant Governor and his signature.

The most recently acquired title is a separate printing of the Pennsylvania Assembly's *An Act For the Better Employment, Relief and Support of the Poor* (1766), one of the last items printed before the dissolution of the partnership of Franklin and Hall.

Thomas Woody Collection

Dr. Thomas Woody of the School of Education recently presented to the Penniman Library his private collection in the history of education, acquired over many years both here and abroad. The Rare Book Collection has been allowed to select from this gift those books which should receive the specialized care that the Collection can provide. Most of these are schoolbooks used in American schools during the early years of our nation, the majority American reprints of standard English textbooks such as Thomas Dilworth's *The Schoolmaster's Assistant*; but some, like those of Noah Webster and Jedidiah Morse, were written specifically for Americans.

A collection, such as Dr. Woody has assembled, furthers our understanding of the background of the men who, by the middle of the nineteenth century, had carried the United States across a continent. These books, which were used to educate a free people, included not only the standard textbooks to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, but also texts on Greek, Latin, Hebrew, astronomy, chemistry, geography, government, history, oratory and drawing. The University is immeasurably richer, thanks to this addition to its holdings.

Mendenhall Gift

The second volume of the *Library Chronicle* (1934) contained an article by Dr. John C. Mendenhall: "The Singer Memorial." In it Dr. Mendenhall described with great affection the newly acquired collection of eighteenth century English literature presented to the Library by Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Singer in memory of their son Godfrey F. Singer, who had been a member of the English Department. This year Dr. Mendenhall presented his own collection to the Library, to be merged with the Singer Collection, and known as the Singer-Mendenhall Collections.

Dr. Mendenhall's gift contains 800 titles, mostly English novels not already owned by the Library. The principal strength of the Mendenhall Collection is in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

while the Singer Collection excels in the earlier and middle eighteenth century. In consequence, the Singer-Mendenhall Collections are an outstanding nucleus for the study of the English novel up to the time of Sir Walter Scott.

Besides these printed books, the Mendenhall gift also contains a number of manuscripts, among them two probably unpublished novels of Jane Porter, and a good critical apparatus.

Other members of the English faculty have added to the Singer-Mendenhall Collections. In the past, Dr. Albert C. Baugh has given us a number of titles, and this year Dr. George W. McClelland, Chairman of the University, presented us with several important late 18th and early 19th century English novels.

Thanks to Various Donors

No library could continue to grow without the interest of its friends. We would like to be able to list all of them, and all the titles presented by them. However, space does not permit this. Enumerated below are some of the gifts received in the past few months.

Mr. Seymour Adelman has presented us with a group of important Quaker pamphlets of the late eighteenth century, and letters by Philadelphia literary men of the early nineteenth century.

Mr. J. Roy W. Barrette. Mr. Barrette continues to support the Rare Book Collection's Province Collection. This collection consists of books printed in England at the time of the establishment of the Province of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Struthers Burt regularly presents to the Library contemporary literary manuscript materials.

Mrs. John Cadwalader added several important titles to our collection of classics.

Mrs. Theodore Dreiser's interest in our collection of her husband's manuscripts and books continues; several additional items were received from her.

Mr. James T. Farrell contributes regularly items to our growing collection of contemporary literature.

Without the aid of sister institutions such as the *Free Library of Philadelphia*, we would be much poorer. The Free Library has presented us with duplicates from its collections, thus adding desirable volumes to our holdings.

Mr. Samuel F. Houston presented the Library with an important collection of books printed by the Kelmscott Press.

Mrs. Murdock Kendrick presented books from her late husband's library; this year's selection is a group of books in English literature.

Mr. John Frederick Lewis, Jr., former President of the Friends, continues to add to our collections. This year he gave us titles in American literature, and various volumes presented to him by Dr. Edgar Singer.

Mr. Howard Mott regularly sends us valuable additions to our holdings. This year we received volumes in American literature.

Peter Pauper Press. In connection with a talk given by them to the Friends, Mr. and Mrs. Beilenson presented us with a fine collection of books from their press.

To the *Seven Gables Bookstore* we owe interesting additions to our collection of American literature.

Mr. Raymond A. Speiser continues to purchase items to be added to his father's drama collection.

Mrs. John A. Stevenson. In memory of her husband, the late John A. Stevenson, Trustee of the University and member of the Board of Libraries, Mrs. Stevenson has presented the Library with her husband's collection of books relating to Abraham Lincoln.

The *Sun Oil Company* presented to the Edgar Fahs Smith Collection in the History of Chemistry an important Italian 17th century manuscript with a series of hitherto unpublished drawings illustrating chemical processes.

Mrs. Dimitri Fedotoff White presented to the University her late husband's library, strong in materials essential for the study in Eastern European history.



